IMPRIMATUR

Sam. Parker *Reverendiss.*
in Christo Patri ac Domino
Domino Gilberto *Divina*
ep. Cantuar. *a Sacr.*

Ex Ædibus *Lambeth.*
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Primitive Christianity.

in 3 parts



Primitive Christianity:

OR, THE

RELIGION

Of the Ancient

Christians

In the first Ages

OF THE

GOSPEL.

In Three Parts.

By *WILLIAM CAVE*, D.D.

Οὐκ ἐν λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἐν ἔργοις τὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας θεοσεβείας πεφήνμεθα. Just. Mart. Paræn. ad Græc. p. 33.
Non habitu Sapientiam, sed mente præferimus: Non eloquimur magna, sed vivimus.
Minuc. Fæl. dial pag. 31.

LONDON,
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M DC LXXIII.

TO THE

RIGHT REVEREND

FATHER in GOD

NATHANAEL,

Lord Biſhop of

OXFORD.

My Lord,

WHen I firſt deſigned that theſe Papers ſhould take ſanctuary at your Lordſhips Patronage, the Hebrew Proverb preſently came into my mind, Keep cloſe to a great man, and men will reverence thee. I knew no better way (next to the innocency, and, if it may be, uſefulneſs of the ſubject I have undertaken) to

דבוק לשיחון ישרתון לך

Bereſch. Rab. cap. 17. ap. Druſ. Adag. Ebraic. Decur. 6. Adag 8.

ſecure my ſelf from the cenſures of envy and ill nature, than by putting my ſelf under your protection, whoſe known ἐυνοια, *the ſweetneſs and obligingneſs of whoſe temper is able to render malice it ſelf candid and favourable. Encouraged alſo by this conſideration, I hardned my ſelf into the confidence of this Addreſs, which I had not otherwiſe attempted, but that your Lordſhips kindneſs and generous compaſſion, and the mighty condeſcention wherewith you were always pleaſed to treat me (while I had the happineſs of your Lordſhips neighbourhood) did at once invite and oblige me to it. I ſay no more, leſt I ſhould affront that* modeſty *that is ſo innate to* your *temper, or come within the leaſt ſuſpicion of* flattery, *ſo repugnant to* my own.

One thing only there is, which I cannot but remark, the great honour which your Lordſhip has done, not

to

to the Epiſcopal *only, but to the whole* miniſterial *order, that a perſon of your Ranck and Education would ſtoop to an employment, ſo little valued and regarded in this unthankful and degenerate Age. And herein your Lordſhip has been a happy Precedent; your example being already followed by ſome, and will ſhortly by more perſons of Noble Deſcent and Pedigree: a thing for which the Church of* England *was never more renowned, ſince the Reformation, than it is at this day.*

My Lord,

There was a time within the compaſs of our memory, when the Biſhops amongſt other things were accuſed (by one of the Houſe of Peers, though one that had not the moſt reaſon to bring in a charge of that nature) to be in reſpect of their Parentage de fæce populi, *of the very* dregs *and* refuſe

Church-Hiſt. lib. 11. p. 183.

refuſe *of the people (malice will play at ſmall games, rather than not at all.) A charge as falſe as it was ſpiteful: though had it been true, it had been impertinent; ſeeing the very* order *is enough to derive honour upon the perſon, even when he cannot, as your Lordſhip, bring it along with him. And indeed ſo honourable an Order has Epiſcopacy ever been accounted, even when there have been no viſible advantages, either of riches or grandeur to attend it, as there were not in the more early Ages of Chriſtianity, that perſons of the greateſt Birth and Fortunes have not thought it below them to exchange the Civil* Tribunal *for the Biſhops* Throne, *and to lay down the publick* Rods *and* Axes, *to take up the* Croſier *and the* Pedum Paſtorale. *If we may credit that Catalogue of the Biſhops of* Conſtantinople *recorded by* Nicephorus, *we find* Dometius,

H. Eccleſ. lib. 8. c. 6. p. 541.

Brother

Brother to the Emperour Probus, *and after him his two Sons*, Probus *and* Metrophanes, *ſucceſſively ſitting in that Chair: As afterwards* Nectarius, *S.* Chryſoſtoms *Predeceſſor, was of a* Senator *made* Biſhop *of that See.* Thalaſſius *became Biſhop of* Cæſarea, *when he was a* Senator, *the* Præfectus Prætorio (*or the Emperours* Lieutenant, *one of the higheſt places both of* truſt *and* honour *in the* Roman *Empire*) *of* Illyricum, *and riſing to greater dignities, being deſign'd by the Emperour for the Government of the* Eaſt. *S.* Ambroſe (*whoſe Father was an* illuſtrious *perſon, the* Præfect *of* France) *was made Governour of* Liguria *and* Æmilia, *and ſent thither with* Conſular *power and dignity, during which employment he was made Biſhop of* Milain. Petronius *Biſhop of* Bononia *is ſaid to have been firſt a* Præfectus Prætorio, *and to deſcend*

scend of the Family of Constantine *the* Great. Sidonius Apollinaris *descended for many Generations of noble and* illustrious *Parents, his Father the* Præfectus Prætorio *of* Gaul, *himself Son-in-Law to* Avitus (*a person of extraordinary honour and employment, and afterwards* Consul *and* Emperour) *and yet in the midst of this disdained not to become Bishop of* Clermont *in* France. *More such instances I could give, not to speak of multitudes that were in the middle and later Ages of the Church, especially in our own Nation. But I return:*

My Lord,

I beheld Religion generally laid waste, and Christianity *ready to draw its last breath, stifled and oppressed with the vices and impieties of a debauched and profligate Age. To contribute towards the recovery whereof,*

whereof, and the reducing things (if poſſible to the ancient *Standard, is the deſign of the Book that is here offered to you. The ſubject I aſſure my ſelf is not unſuitable either to your Lordſhips* Order, temper, *or* courſe *of life; if my ill managery of it has not rendred it unworthy of your Patronage. However ſuch as it is, it is humbly preſented by him who is*

Your Lordſhips

faithfully devoted Servant

WILLIAM CAVE.

THE

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

I Know not whether it may be any ſatisfaction to the curioſity of the Reader, to underſtand the birth and original of theſe *Papers*; if it be, let him take this account. No ſooner did I arrive at years capable of diſcerning, but I began to enquire into the grounds of that Religion, into which I had been baptized: which I ſoon found to be ſo noble and excellent, in all its *laws* ſo juſt and rational, in all its *deſigns* ſo divine and heavenly, ſo perfective of the *Principles*, ſo conducive to the *happineſs* of humane nature; a Religion ſo *worthy* of God, ſo *advantageous* to man, built upon ſuch firm and uncontroulable evidence, back'd with ſuch proper and powerful arguments, that I was preſently convinc'd of the *Divinity* that reſided in it, and concluded with my ſelf

(and

(and I thought I had reaſon ſo to do) that ſurely the Diſciples of this Religion muſt needs be the moſt excellent perſons in the world. But alas a few years experience of the world let me ſee, that this was the concluſion of one that had convers'd only with Books, and the reaſonings of his own mind. I had not been long an obſerver of the manners of men, but I found them generally ſo debauched and vitious, ſo corrupt and contary to the rules of this holy Religion, that if a modeſt and honeſt *Heathen* was to eſtimate Chriſtianity by the lives of its Profeſſors, he would certainly proſcribe it as the vileſt Religion in the world. Being offended hereat, I reſolved *to ſtand in the ways, and ſee, and enquire for the good old way, the Paths wherein the ancient Chriſtians walk'd:* for I could not think that this had always been the unhappy fate and portion of Chriſtianity; and that if the footſteps of true Chriſtian piety and ſimplicity were any where to be found, it muſt be in thoſe times, *when* (as S. *Hierom* notes) *the blood of Chriſt was yet warm in the breaſts of Chriſtians, and the faith and ſpirit of Religion more brisk and vigorous.*

Quando Domini noſtri adhuc calebat cruor, & fervebat recens in credentibus fides. Hierom. ad Demetr. p. 68. tom. 1.

In purſuance of this deſign, I ſet my ſelf

ſelf to a more cloſe and diligent reading of the firſt Fathers and ancient monuments of the Church than ever I had done before, eſpecially for the *three* or *four firſt Centuries*, for much lower I did not intend to go, becauſe the life and ſpirit of Chriſtianity did then viſibly decline apace; noting as I went along whatever contributed to my ſatisfaction in this affair. Had I conſulted my own eaſe and quiet, I might have gone a nearer way to work, and have taken up with what I could have pick'd up of this nature in *Baronius*, the *Centuries*, *&c.* But I could not ſatisfie my ſelf (and I preſume it would as little have ſatisfied the Reader) with ſhreds, with things taken upon truſt, and borrowed at the ſecond hand. For the ſame reaſon I made little uſe of the *Lives* of the *Saints*, (eſpecially in ſuch inſtances whereof there was the leaſt cauſe to doubt) and the ſpurious and ſuppoſititious Writings of the Fathers, ſeldom making uſe of any but ſuch as are of unqueſtionable credit and authority. And becauſe the teſtimony of an enemy is ever accounted of great moment and regard, I have been careful to add the teſtimonies that have been given to Chriſtians and to

their Religion by the known and professed Adversaries of the Christian Faith; such as *Pliny*, *Lucian*, *Porphyry*, *Julian*, *&c.* more whereof we might have been furnished with, had those Writings of theirs against the Christian Religion been extant, which the zeal of the first Christian Princes industriously banished out of the world. What other Authors of later date I have borrowed any light from in this discourse, I have faithfully produced in the margent. Two Books indeed I met with, which at first sight I well hoped would have wholly saved me the labour of this search; the one written by a person of our own Nation; the other by a *Florentine* of great name and note: but my hopes were very much frustrated in both. For the first, I no sooner looked into it, but found my self wretchedly imposed upon by the Title, his *Elder Times and Christians* (not to say any thing of his intermixtures of things nothing to his purpose) seldom reaching any higher than the *middle-Ages* of the Church, little or nothing being remark'd of the *first*

A modest Discourse of the piety, charity, and policy of elder Times and Christians, &c. by Edw. Waterhouse, Esq; Lond. 1655.

Paganin. Gaudentius de vita Christianorum, ante tempora Constantini. Florent. 1639. quarto.

first Ages of Christianity, the only thing I aimed at. For the other (which I met not with till I had almost finished this search) I found it miserably thin and empty, containing little else but short glosses upon some few passages out of *Tertullian*, from whence I did not enrich my self with any one observation, which I had not before. There is indeed an Epistle of *Fronto's*, the learned *Chancellor* of the *University* of *Paris* concerning this Affair; but it contains only some general intimations, and seems to have been designed by him (as appears from that, and some other of his Epistles) as the ground-work of a larger and more particular discourse. But his death happening some few years after the date of that Epistle, cut off all hopes of prosecuting so excellent a design. These are all that I know of, who have attempted any thing in this subject, none whereof coming up to the curiosity of my design, I was forced to resume the task I had undertaken, and to go on with it through those ancient Writers of the Church, the result of which search is laid together in this Book.

De vita & moribus Christianorum, &c. Par. 1660. quart.

Whether I have discharged my self herein to the satisfaction of the Reader,

I know not; ſure I am, I have endeavoured what I propounded to my ſelf, *viz.* a *Specimen* of *Primitive Chriſtianity*, in ſome of the moſt conſiderable branches and inſtances of Religion. Here he will find a *Piety* active and zealous, ſhining through the blackeſt clouds of malice and cruelty; afflicted *innocence* triumphant, notwithſtanding all the powerful or politick attempts of men or Devils; a *patience* unconquerable under the biggeſt perſecutions; a *charity* truly *Catholick* and unlimited; a *ſimplicity* and upright carriage in all tranſactions; a *ſobriety* and *temperance* remarkable to the admiration of their enemies; and in ſhort, he will here ſee the divine and holy Precepts of the Chriſtian Religion drawn down into action, and the moſt excellent *genius* and ſpirit of the Goſpel breathing in the hearts and lives of theſe good old Chriſtians. Here he will find a real and evident confutation of that ſenſeleſs and abſurd *calumny*, that was faſtned upon Chriſtianity, as if it required no more than an *eaſie* and *credulous* temper of mind; as if under a pretence of kindneſs and indulgence to ſinners, it miniſtred to all vice and wickedneſs. *Celſus* confidently begins the

the charge. *There be ſome amongſt the Chriſtians* (ſays he) *that will neither give nor receive a reaſon of their faith, who are wont to cry out, don't examine, but believe; and, thy faith will ſave thee; the wiſdom of this world is evil, but fooliſhneſs good and uſeful.* *Julian* carries on the charge ſomewhat higher, as if the Chriſtian Religion were not only content with a naked and an empty Faith, but gave encouragement to ſin, by aſſuring its moſt deſperate *Proſelytes* of an eaſie pardon. In the concluſion of his *Cæſars*, after he had aſſigned the *Roman* Emperours their particular *Tutelar* Deities, he delivers over *Conſtantine* the *Great*, the firſt *Chriſtian* Emperour, to the *Goddeſs* of *Pleaſure*, who having effeminately trick'd and dreſs'd him up, brought him to the Goddeſs *Aſotia* or intemperance, where he finds τὸν υἱὸν, *his Son*, *Conſtantius* probably (for the paſſage is a little diſturbed and obſcure, for which reaſon probably the Tranſlator paſſed it by, and took no notice of it) making this

φησὶ δέ τινας μηδὲ βυλομένους δίδόναι ἢ λαμβάνειν λόγον ὧν πιστεύουσι, χρῆσθαι τῷ μὴ ἐξέταζε, ἀλλὰ πίστευσον· Καὶ, ἡ πίστις σου σώζει σε. Καὶ, κακὸν ἡ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ σοφία, ἀγαθὸν δ' ἡ μωρία. *Orig. adv. Celſ. lib.* 1. *p.* 8. *vid. lib.* 6. *p.* 282.

universal Proclamation, *Whoever is an adulterer, or a murderer, whoever is an impure profligate wretch, let him come boldly, for I declare that being washed in this water* [Baptism] *he shall immediately be cleansed: nay, although he again commit those sins, let him but knock his breast, and beat his head, and I will make him clean.* Much to the same purpose *Zozimus* (as good a friend to Christianity as either of the former) spitefully charges it upon *Constantine the Great*, that being haunted with the conscience of his prodigeous Villanies, and having no hopes given him by the *Gentile Priests* of the expiation of his crimes, embraced Christianity, being told, that in the Christian Religion *there was a promise of cleansing from all sin, and that as soon as ever any closed with it, pardon would be granted to the most profligate offenders.* As if Christianity had been nothing else but

ὅσις φθορεὺς, ὅσις μιαιφόνος, ὅσις ἀκαθὴς καὶ βδελυρὸς, ἴτω θαῤῥῶν, ἀφοσιοῦμαι γὰρ αὐτὸν τυχὸν τῷ ὕδατι λύσας, αὐτίκα καθαρεύει. Κἂν πάλιν ἔγχος τοῖς αὐτοῖς γένηται, λύσω τὸ σῆμα πλήξαντι, καὶ τὸν μέτωπον πλήξαντι, καθαρὸν γένεσθαι. *Julian. Cæsares. p. 53.*

πάσης ἁμαρτίας καὶ ἀνομίας λυτὴν εἶναι τὴν πᾶσι Χριστιανῶν διαβεβαιουμένην δόξαν· καὶ τοῦτο ἔχειν ἐπάγγελμα, τὸ τὰς ἀσεβεῖς μεταλαμβάνοντας αὐτῆς, πάσης ἁμαρτίας ἔξω πεφηνέναι. *Zozim. Hist. lib. 2. p. 434.*

but a *Receptacle* and *Sanctuary* for *Rogues* and *Villains*, where the worſt of men might be wicked under hopes of pardon. But how falſe and groundleſs (eſpecially as urged and intended by them) this impious charge was, appears from the whole deſign and tenour of the Goſpel, and that more than ordinary vein of piety and ſtrictneſs that was conſpicuous in the lives of its firſt profeſſors, whereof we have in this Treatiſe given abundant evidence.

To this repreſentation of their lives and manners, I have added ſome account concerning the ancient Rites and Uſages of the Church; wherein if any one ſhall meet with ſomething that does not jump with his own humour, he will I doubt not have more diſcretion than to quarrel with me for ſetting down things as I found them. But in this part I have ſaid the leſs, partly becauſe this was not the thing I primarily deſigned, partly becauſe it has been done by others in juſt Diſcourſes. In ſome few inſtances I have remarked the *coruption* and *degeneracy* of the *Church* of *Rome*, from the *purity* and *ſimplicity* of the *ancient* Church; and more I could eaſily have added, but that I ſtudiouſly avoided

controverſies, it being no part of my deſign to enquire, what was the judgment of the Fathers in diſputable caſes, eſpecially the more abſtruſe and intricate ſpeculations of Theology, but what was their practice, and by what rules and meaſures they did govern and conduct their lives. The truth is, their *Creed* in the firſt Ages was *ſhort* and *ſimple*, their Faith lying then (as *Eraſmus* obſerves) not ſo much in *nice* and *numerous* Articles, as in a *good* and an *holy* life. At the end of the Book I have added a Chronological *Index* of the *Authors*, according to the times wherein they are ſuppoſed to have lived, with an account of the *Editions* of their Works made uſe of in this Treatiſe. Which I did, not that I had a mind to tell the world, either what, or how many Books I had; a piece of vanity of which had I been guilty, it had been no hard matter to have furniſh'd out a much larger Catalogue. But I did it, partly to gratifie the requeſt of the Bookſeller, partly becauſe I conceived it might not be altogether unuſeful to the Reader; the *Index*, to give ſome light to the quotations; by knowing when the Author lived, eſpecially when he ſpeaks of things

Prefat. in Hilar. Oper.

done

done in or near his own time, and which must otherwise have been done at every turn in the body of the Book. And because there are some Writings frequently made use of in this Book, the Authors whereof in this *Index* could be reduced to no certain date, especially those called the *Apostolical Canons* and *Constitutions*, it may not be amiss here briefly to take notice of them. And first for the *Canons*; as I am far from their opinion who ascribe them to the *Apostles*, so I think their great Antagonist Mr. *Daillé* bends the stick as much too far the other way, not allowing them a being in the world till the year 500 or after. The truth doubtless lies between these two: 'Tis evident both from the Histories of the Church, and many passages in *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, and others, that there were in the most early Ages of Christianity frequent Synods and Councils for setling the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, though their determinations under that notion be not extant at this day. Part of these *Synodical* Decrees, so many of them as concern'd the Rites and Discipline of the Church, we may conceive some person of learning and judgment gathered together

gether, probably about the beginning of the third Century, and put them (especially the first *Fifty*, for I look not upon the whole *eighty five* as of equal value and authority) if not into the same, into some such form and method, wherein we now have them; stiling them *Ecclesiastical* or *Apostolical* Canons, not as if they had been composed by the *Apostles*, but either because containing things consonant to the Doctrines and Rules delivered by the Apostles, or because made up of usages and traditions supposed to be derived from them, or lastly because made by ancient and *Apostolic* men. That many, if not all, of these Canons were some considerable time extant before the first *Nicene* Council, we have great reason to believe from two or three passages amongst many others. S. *Basil* giving rules about Discipline, appoints a Deacon guilty of Fornication to be deposed, and thrust down into the rank of *Laicks*, and that in that capacity he might receive the Communion, *there being*, says he, ἀρχαῖος κανὼν, *an ancient Canon, that they that are deposed should only fall under this kind of punishment; the ancients, as I suppose, following herein that command, Thou shalt not*

Epist. Canon. ad Amphil. Can. 3.

not puniſh twice for the ſame fault: This *Balſamon* joins with the twenty fifth *Canon* of the *Apoſtles*, which treats of the very ſame affair: and indeed it cannot in probability be meant of any other, partly becauſe there is no ancient Canon about this buſineſs but that, partly becauſe the ſame ſentence is applied as the reaſon both in the *Apoſtolical* and S. *Baſils* Canon, *Thou ſhalt not puniſh twice for the ſame fault*; which clearly ſhews whence *Baſil* had it, and what he underſtands by his *ancient Canon*. *Theodoret* records a Letter of *Alexander* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, to another of the ſame name Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* (this Letter was written a little before the Council of *Nice*) where ſpeaking of ſome Biſhops, who had received the *Arrians* whom he had excommunicated into Communion, he tells him, *that herein they had done what the Apoſtolical Canon did not allow*; evidently referring to the twelfth and thirteenth *Canon* of the *Apoſtles*, which ſtate the caſe about one Biſhops receiving thoſe into Communion, who had been excommunicated by another. To this let me add, that *Conſtantine* in a Letter to *Euſebius*, commends him for refuſing to leave his own

H. Eccleſ. lib. 1. *c.* 4. *p.* 5.

De vit. Conſtant. lib. 3 *c.* 61. *p.* 518.

own Biſhoprick to go over to that of *Antioch*, to which he was choſen, eſpecially *becauſe herein he had exactly obſerved the rule of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and had kept the commands of God, and the Apoſtolical and Eccleſiaſtical Canon*, meaning doubtleſs the fourteenth *Apoſtolick Canon*, which treats about ſuch removes. Nay learned men both formerly and of late have obſerved divers paſſages in the *Nicene* Canons themſelves, which plainly reſpect theſe Canons, as might be made appear (notwithſtanding what *Daillé* has excepted againſt it) were this a proper place to diſcourſe of it. This for the Canons.

For the *Conſtitutions*, they are ſaid to have been compoſed by S. *Clemens*, at the inſtance and by the direction of the *Apoſtles*. And this wild and extravagant opinion has not wanted its Patrons and defenders, *Turrianus*, *Bovius*, *&c.* but herein deſerted by the more modeſt and moderate of their own party; beſides that their *Apoſtolicalneſs* (in this ſenſe) is by the learned *Daillé* everlaſtingly ſhattered and broken. But then he ſets them at too wide a diſtance, aſſigning them to the latter end of the fifth Century: when 'tis as clear as the Sun that

De Pſeudepigr. Ap. lib. 2. c. 17. p. 408.

that they were extant, and in credit with many before the times of *Epiphanius* (though ſomewhat altered now from what they were in his time) compiled probably out of many leſſer Διδαχαὶ and Διδάξεις, Books containing the *Doctrines* and *Rites* that had been delivered and practiſed by ancient and *Apoſtolical* perſons, or at leaſt vented under their names; but whether, as ſome conjecture, compoſed by *Clemens Alexandrinus* (and thence by an eaſie miſtake aſcribed to *Clemens Romanus*) I am not at leiſure to conſider. In this Claſs of Writers I may reckon *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, abſurdly enough aſſerted by many to be genuine, by *Daillé* thruſt down to the beginning of the ſixth Century: but moſt probably thought to have been written about the middle of the fourth Age, as a perſon amongſt us deſervedly of great name and note has ſhewn in his late *Vindication* of *Ignatius* Epiſtles. Theſe are the principal of thoſe Authors, who could not be fix'd upon any certain year: the reſt have in the *Index* their particular and reſpective times. To which I have added the account of the *Editions* for the more ready finding (if occaſion be) of any paſſage quoted out of them.

One

One thing indeed there is which I cannot but take notice of, it looks so like a piece of vanity and ostentation, that the margent is charged with so many *quotations*: but whoever considers the nature of my design, will quickly see that it was absolutely necessary, and that it concerned me not to deliver any thing without good authority; the reason why I have, where I could, brought them in speaking their own words: though to avoid as much of the charge as was possible, I omitted the citing Authors in their own Languages, and only set them down in *English*, faithfully representing the Authors sense, though not always tying my self to a strict and precise translation. How pertinent my quotations are, the Reader must judge; I hope he will find them exact, being immediately fetched from the fountain-head; here being very few (if any) that have not been examined more than once. For the method into which the Book is cast, I chose that which to me seemed most apt and proper, following S. *Pauls* distribution of Religion into *piety* towards God, *sobriety* towards our selves, and *righteousness* towards others; and accordingly divided the discourse into three

three parts, respecting those three great branches of Religion; though the first is much larger than either of the other, by reason of some *preliminary* Chapters, containing a vindication of the Christians from those crimes that were charged upon them, that so the rubbish being cleared and thrown out of the way, we might have a fairer prospect of their Religion afterwards. The Book I confess is swell'd into a greater bulk, than I either thought of, or desired; but by reason of somewhat a confused Copy never design'd for the *Press*, no certain measures could be taken of it. Upon which account also part of the *Errours* both of the *Author* and the *Printer* must be discharged, it being upon an impartial consideration, rather a wonder that there are *no more*, than that there are *so many*.

And now if after all this, it shall be enquired, why these Papers are made publick, as I can give no very good reason, so I will not trouble my self to invent a bad one. It may suffice to intimate, that this discourse (long since drawn up at leisure hours) lay then by me, when a tedious and uncomfortable distemper (whereby I have been taken off from all *publick* Service, and the prosecution

ſecution of *ſeverer* ſtudies) gave me too much opportunity to look over my Papers, and this eſpecially, which peradventure otherwiſe had never ſeen the light. Indeed I muſt confeſs I was ſomwhat the eaſilier prevailed with to let this diſcourſe paſs abroad, that it might appear, that when I could not do what I ought, I was at leaſt willing to do what I could. If he that reads it, ſhall reap any delight and ſatisfaction by it, or be in any meaſure induced to imitate theſe primitive virtues, I ſhall think my pains well beſtowed: if not, I am not the firſt, and probably ſhall not be the laſt, that has written a Book to no purpoſe.

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PART II.

The Religion of the Primitive Chriſtians as to thoſe virtues that reſpect themſelves.

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CHAP. VI.

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PART III.

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Primitive Christianity:

OR, THE

RELIGION

Of the Ancient

Christians

In the first Ages

OF THE

GOSPEL.

PART I.

Containing their Piety towards God.

By *WILLIAM CAVE*, D.D.

That ye be not slothful, but followers of them, who through faith and patience inherit the promises. Heb. 6.12.
Whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation. Heb. 13.7.

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Primitive Chriſtianity;
OR, THE
RELIGION
OF THE
Ancient Chriſtians
In the firſt Ages of the Goſpel.

PART I.

CHAP. I.

Things charged upon the Primitive Chriſtians, reſpecting their Religion.

Chriſtian Religion likely to meet with oppoſition at its firſt ſetting out. Chiefly undermined by Calumnies and Reproaches. Three things by the Heathens charged upon the Chriſtians; ſome things

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Things charged upon the Primitive Chriſtians, reſpecting their Religion.

Chriſtian Religion likely to meet with oppoſition at its firſt ſetting out. Chiefly undermined by Calumnies and Reproaches. Three things by the Heathens charged upon the Chriſtians; ſome things

Part 1. *respecting their Religion; some their outward condition; others their moral carriage, and the matters of their worship. Their Religion charged with two things, Impiety and Novelty. The charge of Atheism considered, and answered out of the Fathers. The Heathens excepted against, as incompetent judges of the affairs of Christianity. In what sense Christians confessed themselves Atheists. The wretched and absurd Deities that were amongst the Heathens, and the impure manner of their worship. Atheism, properly such, disowned and denied by Christians. The account they gave of their Religion, and the God whom they worshipped.*

NO sooner did the Son of God appear in the world, to establish the most excellent Religion that ever was communicated to Mankind, but he met with the most fierce and vigorous opposition: persecuted and devoted to death assoon as he was born, followed all his life with fresh assaults of malice and cruelty, his credit traduced and slandered, his Doctrine despised and slighted, and himself at last put to death with the most exquisite arts of torture and

and disgrace. And *if they thus served the Master of the house, how much more them of the household; the disciple not being above his Master, nor the servant above his Lord.* Therefore when he gave commission to his *Apostles*, to publish this Religion to the world, he told them beforehand, what hard and unkind reception they must look to meet with, *that he sent them forth as sheep in the midst of Wolves, that they should be delivered up to the Councils, and scourged in the Synagogues, and be brought before Kings and Governours, and be hated of all men for his names sake*; nay so high should the quarrel arise upon the account of Religion, that men should violate some of the nearest Laws of Nature, *betray their friends and kinsfolk; the Brother delivering up the Brother to death, and the Father the Child, the Children rising up against their Parents, and causing them to be put to death.* This he well foresaw (and the event truly answered it) would be the fate of its first *appearing* in the world: and indeed, considering the present state and circumstances of the world at that time, it could not reasonably be expected, that the *Christian Religion* should meet with a better en- Part 1.

Part 1. tertainment; for the genius and nature of its *Doctrine* was such, as was almost impossible to escape the frowns and displeasure of men: a Doctrine it was, that call'd men off from lusts and pleasures, and offered violence to their native inclinations, that required the greatest strictness and severity of life, obliged men *to deny themselves, to take up their Cross*, and to *follow* the steps of a poor crucified *Saviour*, and that upon little other encouragement at present, than the invisible rewards of another world. It introduced *new* Rites and Ceremonies, unknown to those of former Ages, and such as did undermine the received and established principles of that *Religion*, that for so many Generations had governed the world; it revealed and brought to light such truths, as were not only contrary to the principles of mens education, but many of them above the reach of natural comprehension, too deep for the line of humane reason to fathom or find out.

Upon these, and such like accounts, Christianity was sure to encounter with mighty *prejudices* and potent opposition; and so it did; for no sooner did it peep abroad in the world, but it was *every where*

where ſpoken againſt: Princes and Potentates, and the greateſt powers and policies of the world, did for ſome Ages confederate and combine together, to extirpate and baniſh it out of the world: and certainly, if Arms and Armies, if ſtrength and ſubtlety, if malice and cruelty could have ſtifled it, it had been ſmothered in its infancy and firſt delivery into the world. But notwithſtanding all theſe oppoſitions, it ſtill lifted up its head in triumph, and outbrav'd the fierceſt ſtorms of perſecution; and as *Tertullian* told their Enemies, *by every exquiſite act of cruelty, they did but tempt others to come over to the party, the oftner they were mowed down, the faſter they ſprang up again, the blood of Chriſtians making the Churches ſoil more fat and fertile.* Hereupon the great enemy of mankind betook himſelf to other counſels, and ſought to undermine, what he ſaw he could not carry by open aſſault and battery; he ſtudied to leaven the minds of men with falſe and unjuſt prejudices againſt *Chriſtianity*, and to burden it with whole loads of reproaches and defamations, knowing no ſpeedier way to hinder its *reception*, than to blaſt its *reputation*. For this purpoſe all

Part 1.

Apol. c. ult. p. 40.

Part 1. the arts of ſpite and malice were muſtred up, and *Chriſtians* confidently charged with all thoſe crimes that could render them and their Religion vile and infamous: Now the things that were charged upon the Chriſtians, were either ſuch as reſpected their *Religion*, or ſuch as concern'd their *outward ſtate and condition*, or ſuch as related to their *moral carriage and behaviour*, with ſome things relating to the matter or manner of their Worſhip; we ſhall conſider them in order, and how the Chriſtians of thoſe times vindicated themſelves from theſe imputations.

The Chriſtian Religion at its firſt coming abroad into the world, was mainly charged with theſe two things, **Impiety** and **Novelty**: For the firſt, 'twas commonly cryed out againſt, as a grand piece of *Atheiſm* and *Impiety*, as an affront to their Religion, and an undermining the very being and exiſtence of their gods; this is the ſum of the charge, as we find it in the ancient Apologiſts; more particularly *Cæcilius* the Heathen, in *Minucius Felix* accuſes the *Chriſtians* for a deſperate undone and unlawful faction, who by way of contempt did *ſnuff* and *ſpit* at the mention of

J. Martyr. Ap. 1. p. 47. Athenag. Legat. p. 4. Arnob. l. 1. p. 7. Min. Fæl. p. 7.

of their gods, deride their worship, scoff at their Priests, and despise their Temples, as no better than *Charnel-houses*, and heaps of bones and ashes of the dead; for these, and such like reasons, the *Christians* were every where accounted a pack of *Atheists*, and their Religion **the Atheism**; and seldom it is that *Julian the Emperor* calls *Christianity* by any other name. Thus *Lucian* bringing in *Alexander* the Impostor setting up for an Oracle-monger, ranks the *Christians* with *Atheists* and *Epicureans*, as those that were especially to be banished from his mysterious Rites. In answer to this charge, the Christians pleaded especially these three things. Part 1. *Pseudomant. pa. 888. tom. 2.*

First, That the *Gentiles* were for the most part *incompetent* Judges of such cases as these, as being almost wholly ignorant of the true state of the *Christian Doctrine*, and therefore unfit to pronounce sentence against it. Thus when *Crescens the Philosopher* had traduced the *Christians*, as atheistical and irreligious, *Justin Martyr* answers, that he talked about things which he did not understand, feigning things of his own head, only to comply with the humour of his seduc'd disciples and followers; that in re- *Just. Martyr loc. laud.*

proaching the Doctrine of *Christ*, when he did not understand it, he discovered a most wicked and malignant temper, and shewed himself far worse than the most simple and unlearned, who are not wont rashly to bear witness and determine in things not sufficiently known to them. Or if he did understand its *greatness and excellency*, then he shewed himself much more base and dis-ingenuous, in charging upon it what he knew to be false, and concealing his inward sentiments and convictions, for fear, lest he should be suspected to be a *Christian*. But *Justin* well knew, that he was miserably unskilful in matters of *Christianity*, having formerly had conferences and disputations with him about these things; and therefore offer'd the *Senate of Rome* (to whom he then presented his *Apology*) if they had not heard the sum of it, to hold another conference with him, even before the *Senate* it self; which he thought would be a work worthy of so wise and grave a Council: or if they had heard it, then he did not doubt, but they clearly apprehended how little he understood these things; or, that if he did understand them, he knowingly dissembled it to his

his Auditors, not daring to own the truth, as *Socrates* did in the face of danger: an evident argument that he was ὐ φιλόσοφος, ἀλλὰ φιλόδοξος, *not a Philoſopher*, but a *ſlave to popular applauſe and glory.* Part I.

Secondly, They did in ſome ſort confeſs the charge, that according to the vulgar notion which the *Heathens* had of their *Deities*, they were *Atheiſts*, i. e. *ſtrangers and enemies to them*; that the gods of the Gentiles were at beſt but *Dæmons*, impure and unclean ſpirits, who had long impoſed upon mankind, and by their villanies, ſophiſtries, and arts of terrour, had ſo affrighted the common people, who knew not really what they were, and who judge of things more by appearance than by reaſon, that they call'd them gods, and gave to every one of them that name, which the *Dæmon* was willing to take to himſelf, and that they really were nothing but Devils, fallen and apoſtate ſpirits, the *Chriſtians* evidently manifeſted at every turn, forcing them to the confeſſing it, while by Prayer and invocating the name of the true God, they drove them out of poſſeſſed perſons, and therefore trembled to encounter with a *Chriſtian*, *J. Mart. Ap. 2. (ſeu verius 1.)* p. 56. & p. 55.

as

Part 1. as *Octavius* triumphingly tells *Cæcilius*;
Pag. 23. that they entertained the most absurd and fabulous notions of their gods, and usually ascrib'd such things to them, as would be accounted an horrible *shame* and *dishonour* to any wise and good man, the Worship and mysterious Rites of many of them being so brutish and filthy, that the honester and severer *Romans* were asham'd on't, and therefore overturn'd their Altars, and banished them out of the roll of their Deities, though their degenerate posterity took them in again, as *Tertullian* observes; their gods themselves so impure and beastly, their Worship so obscene and detestable, that *Julius Firmicus* advises them to turn their *Temples* into *Theatres*, where the secrets of their Religion may be delivered in *Scenes*, and to make their *Players Priests*, and that the common rout might sing the *amours*, the sports and pastimes, the wantonnesses and impieties of their gods, no places being so fit for such a Religion as they. Besides the attributing to them humane bodies, with many blemishes and imperfections, and subjection to the miseries of humane life, and to the laws of mortality, they could not deny them

Apol. c. p. 7.

de err. prof. Relig. p. 9.

to

to have been guilty of the moſt horrid and prodigious villanies and enormities, revenge and murther, inceſt and luxury, drunkenneſs and intemperance, theft and unnatural rebellion againſt their Parents, and ſuch like, of which their own Writings were full almoſt in every page, which ſerved only to corrupt and debauch the minds and manners of youth, as *Octavius* tells his adverſary, where he purſues this argument at large, with great eloquence and reaſon. Nay, thoſe among them that were moſt *inquiſitive and ſerious*, and that entertained more abſtract and refin'd apprehenſions of things than the common people, yet could not agree in any fit and rational notion of a Deity, ſome ridiculouſly affirming one thing and ſome another, 'till they were divided into a hundred different opinions, and all of them farther diſtant from the *truth*, than they were from one another; the vulgar in the mean while making gods of the moſt brutiſh objects, ſuch as Dogs, Cats, Wolves, Goats, Hawks, Dragons, Beetles, Crocodiles, *&c.* this *Origen* againſt *Celſus* particularly charges upon the *Egyptians*, *When you approach* (ſays he) *their ſacred places, they have glorious Groves*

Part 1.

Min. Fel. p. 19. vid. Arnob. adv. gent. l. 1. p. 7.

Vid. Min. Fel. p. 15, 16.

Adv. Celſ. l. 3. p. 121.

Part 1. *Groves and Chappels, Temples with goodly Gates, and ſtately Portico's, and many myſterious and religious Ceremonies; but when once you are entred, and got within their Temples, you ſhall ſee nothing but a Cat or an Ape, or a Crocodile, or a Goat, or a Dog worſhipp'd with the moſt ſolemn veneration.* Nay they deified *ſenſeleſs* and *inanimate things*, that had no life or power to help *themſelves*, much leſs their *Worſhippers*, Herbs, Roots, and Plants; nay *unmanly and degenerate paſſions*, fear, paleneſs, *&c.* fell down before ſtumps and ſtatues, which owed all their Divinity to the coſt and folly of their Votaries; deſpiſed and trampled on by the ſorrieſt Creatures, Mice, Swallows, *&c.* who were wont to build neſts in the very *mouth* of their gods, and Spiders to *periwig* their heads with *Cobwebs*: being forc'd firſt to *make them*, and then *make* them *clean*, and to *defend* and *protect* them, that they might *fear* and *worſhip* them, as he in *Minucius* wittily derides them; *in whoſe Worſhip there are* (ſays he) *many things that juſtly deſerve to be laught at, and others that call for pity and compaſſion.* And what wonder now, if the *Chriſtians* were not in the leaſt aſhamed to be called

Vid. Athanaſ. orat. contr. gent.

Min. Fel. p. 20.

called *Atheists*, with respect to such Deities, and such a Religion as this was. Part 1.

Thirdly, In the strict and proper notion of *Atheism*, they no less truly than confidently denied the charge, and appealed to their severest adversaries, whether those who owned such principles as they did, could reasonably be stiled *Atheists*; none ever pleaded better and more irrefragable arguments for the existence of a supream infinite Being, who made and governs all things by infinite wisdom and almighty power, none ever more ready to produce a most clear and candid *confession* of their faith, as to this grand article of Religion, than they: Although we profess our selves Atheists, with respect to those whom you esteem and repute to be gods (*so their Apologist tells the Senate*) yet not in respect of the true God, the parent and fountain of wisdom and righteousness, and all other excellencies and perfections, who is infinitely free from the least contagion or spot of evil: *Him*, and his *only begotten Son* (who instructed us and the whole Society of good Angels in these divine mysteries) and *the Spirit of Prophesie*, we worship and adore, honouring them in truth, and with the highest reason, and ready

J. Martyr. Ap. 1. p. 56.

Part 1. ready to communicate theſe things to any one that's willing to learn them, as we our ſelves have received them. Can
Ib. p. 60. we then be *Atheiſts*, who worſhip the great *Creator* of this world, not with blood, incenſe, and offerings (which we are ſufficiently taught he ſtands no need of) but exalt him according to our power with prayers and praiſes, in all the addreſſes we make to him: believing this to be the only honour that's worthy of him, not to conſume the Creatures which he has given us for our uſe, and the comfort of thoſe that want, in the fire by Sacrifice; but to approve our ſelves thankful to him, and to ſing and celebrate rational hymns and ſacrifices, pouring out our prayers to him as a grateful return for thoſe many good things which we have received, and do yet expect from him, according to the faith and truſt that we have in him. To
Athen. leg. pro Chriſtian. p. 5. the ſame purpoſe *Athenagoras*, in his return to this charge; *Diagoras* indeed was guilty of the deepeſt atheiſm and impiety; but *we* who ſeparate God from all material being, and affirm him to be eternal and unbegotten, but all matter to be made and corruptible, how unjuſtly are we branded with impiety?

It's

It's true, did we ſide with *Diagoras* in denying a Divinity, when there are ſo many and ſuch powerful arguments from the creation & government of the world, to convince us of the exiſtence of God and Religion, then both the guilt and puniſhment of *Atheiſm* might deſervedly be put upon us. But when our Religion acknowledges one God, the maker of the Univerſe, who being uncreate himſelf, created all things by his word, we are manifeſtly wrong'd both in word and deed; both in being charged with it, and in being puniſhed for it. We are accuſed (*ſays Arnobius*) for introducing prophane Rites and an impious Religion; but tell me, O ye men of reaſon, how dare you make ſo raſh a charge? to adore the mighty God, the Soveraign of the whole Creation, the Governour of the higheſt powers, to pray to him with the moſt obſequious reverence; under an afflicted ſtate to lay hold of him with all our powers, to love him, and look up to him, is this a diſmal and deteſtable Religion, a Religion full of ſacriledge and impiety, deſtroying and defiling all ancient Rites? is this that bold and prodigious crime, for which your Gods are ſo angry with us? and

Part 1.

Lib. 1. *p.* 7.

Part I. and for which you your ſelves do ſo rage againſt us, confiſcating our Eſtates, baniſhing our perſons, burning, tearing, and racking us to death with ſuch exquiſite tortures? *We Chriſtians* are nothing elſe but the worſhippers of the ſupream King and Governour of the world, according as we are taught by *Chriſt our Maſter*: ſearch, and you'll find nothing elſe in our Religion: this is the *ſum* of the whole affair; this the end and deſign of our divine Offices; before him it is that we are wont to proſtrate and bow our ſelves, him we worſhip with common and conjoin'd devotions, from him we beg thoſe things which are juſt and honeſt, and ſuch as are not unworthy of him to hear and grant. So little reaſon had the Enemies of *Chriſtianity*, to brand it with the note of *Atheiſm* and *Irreligion*.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Novelty that was charged upon Chriſtianity.

Chriſtianity excepted and cried out againſt as a late novel Doctrine. This a common charge: continued, when Chriſtianity had been ſome hundreds of years in the world. Chriſtianity greatly prejudiced by this charge. Men loth to forſake the Religion of their Anceſtors. What the Chriſtians anſwered to it. Chriſtian Religion the ſame in ſubſtance and effect with that of the ancient Jews: in that reſpect by far the oldeſt Religion in the World; prov'd and urg'd by Tertullian, Cl. Alexander, Euſebius, &c. *Its lateneſs and novelty no real prejudice to rational and unbiaſs'd men. The folly and vanity of adhering to abſurd and unreaſonable Cuſtoms and Principles, becauſe ancient, and of refuſing to change opinions for the better. An objection, if Chriſt and Chriſtianity were ſo great bleſſings to mankind, why was it ſo long before God revealed them; anſwered out of* Arnobius.

Part 1.

THis *Artifice* proving weak and ineffectual, the next charge was its **lateneſs and novelty**, that it was an upſtart Sect, and but of yeſterday ſtanding, not known in the world many years before, whereas the Religion of the *Gentiles* had uncontroulably and almoſt univerſally obtained from Ages and Generations; a Doctrine newly ſprung up, *and come as 'twere from a far Country*, πρωσφάτε ὀλιγονῶ τῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγε, as 'tis in *Theophilus Antiochenus*: a *divorce*, or rending themſelves from the inſtitutions of their Anceſtors, as *Tertullian* has it. This charge begun betimes, when S. *Paul* preached at *Athens*, we find this the firſt thing charged upon him, *that he was a ſetter forth of ſtrange gods, becauſe he preached to them Jeſus and the reſurrection*; and it was followed with a loud cry in ſucceeding times: you are wont to object to us (ſays *Arnobius*) that our Religion is *novel*, ſtart up not many days ago, and that you ought not to deſert your ancient way, and the Religion of your Country, to eſpouſe *barbarous* and foreign Rites. And *Euſebius* tells us, the Heathens were wont to reaſon thus: what *ſtrange* profeſſion of Religion is this?

Lib. 3. *p.* 119. *B.*

Ad Nation. lib. 1 *c.* 10. *p.* 46.

Act. 17. 18.

Lib. 2. *p.* 40

Prepar. Evang. lib. 1. *c.* 2. *p.* 6.

this? what *new* way of life? wherein we can neither discern the Rites amongst us us'd in *Greece*, nor amongst any Sect of the *Barbarians*; who can deny them to be *impious*, who have forsaken the Customs of their Fathers, observed before in all Cities and Countries, revolting from a way of Worship, which had been universally received from all Ages both by *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, entertained both in Cities and Villages, countenanced and approved by the common vote and consent of all *Kings*, *Lawmakers*, *Philosophers*, and the greatest persons whatsover. Nay we may observe, that after *Christianity* had been setled for some hundreds of years in the world, and was become the prevailing Religion, and had in a manner banished all others out of doors, and driven them into corners, yet this charge still continued; thus *Julian* the Emperour writing to the people of *Alexandria*, concerning the *Galilæans* (so he was wont in scorn to call the *Christians*) that he wondered that any of them durst dwell amongst them, or that they would suffer these despisers of the Religion of their Country to be in any place amongst them, calls *Christianity* the *new Doctrine* Part 1. *Ep.* 51. *oper. Jul. part.* 2. *p.* 208.

Part 1. that had been preached to the world: the very same title which *Lucian* had also long since bestowed upon it, where speaking of our *Saviour*, he calls him the great man that was crucified in *Palestine*, who introduced that *new* Religion into the world. So *Symachus* some years after *Julian* (a man no less eminent for his *parts* and *eloquence*, than for his *power and authority*, being *Chief Priest* and *Prefect of Rome*) confidently owns to to the *Emperours* themselves (though they were *Christians*) that he did endeavour to defend the institutions of their Ancestors, the setled Rights and Laws of the Country (he means them of Religion) that he design'd to setle that state of Religion, which for so many Ages had been profitable to the Commonwealth; and therefore begs of them, that what they had received when they were Children, now they were old they might leave to their Posterity; that they were to be true to the trust that had from so many Ages been devolved upon them, and were to follow their Parents, as they had happily done their Ancestors that had gone before them. So he, pleading the cause of *Paganism* from its *antiquity* and *prescription*, obliquely reflecting

De mort. Peregrin. tom. 2. p. 762.

Symmach. Ep. lib. 10. Ep 54. ad Valent. Theod. Arcad. A. A. A. p. 537.

Pag. 538.

Pag. 539.

flecting upon the *noveliſm* of *Chriſtia-* Part 1.
nity, for more he durſt not ſpeak, the Emperours (to whom he made his addreſs) being themſelves Chriſtians. This indeed muſt needs be a mighty *prejudice* againſt the *Chriſtian Religion*, at its firſt coming into the world, for all men as they have a natural *reverence* for Religion, ſo they have a great *veneration* for Antiquity, the Cuſtoms and Traditions of their Fathers, which they entertain as a moſt ineſtimable *depoſitum*, and for which they look upon themſelves as obliged to contend, as for that which is moſt ſolemn and ſacred. What more excellent and venerable (*ſays the Heathen in Minucius Fælix*) than to entertain the diſcipline of our Forefathers, to ſolemnize that Religion that has been delivered to us, to worſhip thoſe Gods, the knowledge of whom has been infus'd into us by our Parents, not boldly to determine concerning the Deities, but to believe thoſe who have been before us. To the ſame purpoſe *Lactantius* ſpeaking of the Heathens, they go on (*ſays he*) moſt pertinaciouſly, to maintain and defend the Religion derived down to them from their Anceſtors, not ſo much conſidering

Min. Fal. p. 5.

Lactant. l. 2. c. 6. p. 171.

Part 1. ſidering what they are, as concluding them to be right and good, becauſe the Ancients conveyed them to them; nay, ſo great the power and authority of antiquity, that it's accounted a kind of *impiety* to queſtion it, or enquire into it. Upon theſe accounts the *Gentiles* bore ſo hard upon *Chriſtianity*, beholding it as a *Muſhroom-Sect*, ſprung up of a ſudden, and as an incroaching Inmate, undermining the eſtabliſhed Religions of the world.

Now we find two pleas eſpecially, which the *Chriſtians* made to this Indictment.

Firſt, That the charge was not wholly and univerſally true, for beſides that many principles of *Chriſtianity* were the ſame with thoſe of the *Law* of *Nature*, the *Chriſtian Religion* was for ſubſtance the ſame with that of the ancient *Jews*; whoſe Religion claim'd the precedency of all others in the world. That the Religion was in ſubſtance and effect the ſame, is expreſly aſſerted and proved by *Euſebius*; the ancient *Patriarchs* were the *Chriſtians* of the old world, who had the ſame Faith, Religion, and Worſhip common with us, nay the ſame *name* too, as he endeavours to prove, from

Prepar. Evang. l. 1. c. 5. p. 9. &c.

from that, *touch not mine annointed*, τῶν χειρῶν μου, *my Christs* or *Christians*: and how far superiour in age they were to any thing that's recorded of the most *ancient Gentiles*, to their oldest Writers, *Orpheus*, *Homer*, *Hesiod*, nay to their very *gods* themselves is sufficiently made good by many of the ancient Fathers; there being at the easiest computation between *Moses* and *Homer*, above 600 years; nay *Cadmus* the first inventer of Letters amongst the *Græcians* was some Ages junior unto *Moses*. Therefore *Origen* tells *Celsus*, that *Moses* and the Prophets were not only more ancient than *Plato*, but than *Homer* himself, yea than the very invention of Letters amongst the *Græcians*; who yet were as proud of their *antiquity*, as any other Nation in the world. Nay whatever useful and excellent notions the great *Masters* of Religion amongst the *Heathens* had amongst them, 'tis plain they borrowed, or more truly *stole* them from the Writings of the Ancients, *Jews*, as is abundantly demonstrated by *Eusebius* at large; as before him it had been done by *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, and by *Tertullian* before them both, who shews that all their *Poets* and *Philosophers* had

Part 1.

Vid. Athen. leg. pro Christianis. p. 16. Clem. Alex. strom. lib. 1.

Adv. Cels. l. 6. p. 279.

Præparat. Evang. lib. 10 tot. Clem. Alex. strom. l. 1. p. 320. Tert. Ap. c. 47. vid. Theod. de curand. Græc. Affect. Serm. 2. de Principio.

Part 1. drunk deep of the *Fountain* of the Prophets, and had fetched their beſt Doctrines and Opinions from thence, though ſubtilly altering and diſguiſing them, to make them look more like their own: ſo that upon this conſideration, the accuſation was unjuſt and falſe, and *Chriſtianity* appears the oldeſt Religion in the world.

Secondly, Admit the *Chriſtian* Religion, in a more limited and reſtrained ſenſe, to be of a far *later* ſtanding than the Religion of the *Gentiles*, yet they pleaded, that 'twas infinitely reaſonable, that they ſhould change for the better, whenever it offered it ſelf to them; that *novel truth* was better than *ancient error*, and that they ought not to be eternally bound up in old inveterate Cuſtoms and Principles, when thoſe which were abundantly more reaſonable and ſatisfactory were preſented to them. You tell us (*ſays Clemens Alex.*) that you may not ſubvert the Cuſtoms received from your Anceſtors: but if ſo, why then are we not content without any other *food* than our *Mothers milk*, to which we were accuſtomed, when we firſt came into the world: why do we *encreaſe* or *impair* our eſtates, and not rather

Admonit. ad gent. p. 57.

rather keep them at the same pitch, just as we received them from our Fathers: why have we left off those toys and sports, to which we were wonted while Infants and Children, but only because years and discretion (although we had no other Tutor) would make us quit those childish and trifling vanities. That old age (*says S. Ambrose*) has true cause to blush, that is asham'd to *reform*; 'tis not *multitude* of *years*, but the *goodness* of *manners* that makes gray hairs worthy of praise and honour; no age is too late to learn, nor is it shame to grow better. What wilt thou do (*says Lactantius to the Heathen*) wilt thou follow *Reason* or thy *Ancestors*? If Reason, then thou must needs relinquish the authority and institutions of thy Forefathers, because that way only can be right, that is warranted and prescribed by Reason: but if piety towards thine Ancestors sway with thee to follow them, thou must confess, both that they were Fools in devoting themselves to a Religion contrary to Reason, and that thou thy self art unwise and simple, in worshipping what thou art convinced to be false: besides, that they had little reason to boast of those goodly Ancestors, to whom they adhered

Part 1.

Ambros Ep. 2. contr. Symmach. inter Ep. Symmach. p. 562.

Lactant. loco supra laudato.

Part 1. adhered so close, and upon whose authority they did so much depend, as he goes on to demonstrate in the remaining part of that Chapter. That you object to us the novelty of our Religion (*so Arnobius*) may we not charge some such fault upon the first and most ancient Ages of the world, who at first liv'd in a very poor and mean state; but by little and little chang'd it into a more liberal and splendid course of life; was it any crime that they changed their *beast skins* into more *comly* and *convenient Garments*, or that they were no longer fond of their *thatcht Cottages*, or chose to dwell like wild beasts in Rocks and Caverns, when they had learnt to build *better habitations*? 'tis natural to all mankind to prefer better before what is worse, profitable before what is useless, and to seek after what we are assur'd is more grateful and excellent: therefore when you charge us with Apostacy from the Religion of the Ancients, you should rather consider the *cause* than the *action*, and not so much upbraid us with what we have *left*, as examine what it is we have *entertain'd*. For if meerly to change our opinion, and to pass from ancient Institutions to what's more late

Adv. gent. l. 2. p. 40, 41.

late and new, be a fault and crime; Part 1.
then none so guilty of the charge as your selves, who have so oft changed your manners and course of life, and by embracing new Rites and Customs, have condemned those that went before: which he there makes good by particular instances: and the same answer St. *Ambrose* gives to *Symmachus*, if nothing but ancient Rites will please you, how comes it to pass, that there has been a succession of new and foreign Rites even in *Rome* it self; of which he gives him many particular examples: In short, *Arnobius* wittily argues thus, *Our way of Religion* (you say) *is new, and yours ancient: and what does this either hurt our cause, or help yours? If ours be new, 'twill in time become old; is yours old, there was a time when it was new: the goodness and authority of Religion is not to be valued by length of time, but by the excellency of its Worship, nor does it become us to consider so much when it begun, as what it is we Worship.* *Ib.* p. 42.

It may not be impertinent in this place to take notice of what the Heathens objected as a branch of this charge: that if God's sending *Christ* into the world, was so great a blessing, why did this *Saviour* *Id. ib.* p. 43. *vid. Greg. Nyss. Orat. Catechet.* c. 29. *tom.* 2. p. 521.

Part 1. *viour* of mankind come no *ſooner*, to reveal this Religion, to lead men into the truth, to tell the world who this true God was, and to reduce us to the adoration of him; if ſo, why did God ſuffer him to ſtay ſo long, and to be born (as 'twere) but a few hours before, in compariſon of the preceding Ages of the world? To this *Arnobius* anſwers, with a great deal of *modeſty* and *reaſon*, that he could not tell; that 'twere eaſie to retort the ſame captious queſtion upon them; if 'twere ſo much to the benefit of the world, that *Hercules*, *Æſculapius*, *Mercury*, *&c.* ſhould be gods, why were they born and deified no *ſooner*, that not only poſterity but antiquity might have reap'd advantage by them? If there was reaſon in one caſe, then there was alſo in the other; but to aſſign proper and particular reaſons was not poſſible; it not being within the power of ſuch a ſhort-ſighted Creature as man is to fathom the depth of the Divine Councils, or to diſcover by what ways or methods he diſpoſes his affairs; theſe things being known only to him who is the grand Parent, the Soveraign Lord and Governour of all things: that although we are not able to aſſign the cauſe why a thing

thing comes to paſs in this or that particular manner, yet this concludes never a whit the more, that the thing is not ſo, or that is leſs credible, when it has otherwiſe the moſt clear and unqueſtionable evidence and demonſtration. More particularly he anſwers, that our *Saviour* cannot be ſaid to have been lately ſent in reſpect of God, becauſe in reſpect of eternity there is nothing late; where there is neither *beginning* nor *end*, there can be nothing *too ſoon*, nothing *too late*: Time indeed is tranſacted by parts and terms, but theſe have no place in a perpetual and uninterrupted ſeries of eternal Ages: what if that *ſtate* of things, to which he came to bring relief, required that *ſeaſon* of time to come in? what if the condition of ancient and modern times were in this caſe not alike? or call'd for ſomewhat different methods of cure? it may be the great God then choſe to ſend *Chriſt*, when the ſtate of mankind was more *broken* and *ſhatter'd*, and humane nature become more weak and unable to help it ſelf: this we are ſure of, that if what ſo lately came to paſs had been neceſſary to have been done ſome thouſands of years ago, the ſupream Creator would have Part 1.

Part 1. have done it, or had it been neceſſary to have been done thouſands of years hence, nothing could have forc'd God to have anticipated the ſetled periods of time one moment; for all his actions are managed by fix'd and eternal reaſons, and what he has once determined, cannot be fruſtrated by any change or alteration. And thus we ſee how eaſily, and yet how ſatisfactorily, the *primitive Chriſtians* wip'd off that double imputation of *impiety* and *novelty*, which the Gentiles had ſo undeſervedly caſt upon their Religion.

CHAP. III.

Things charged upon the Chriſtians, reſpecting their outward condition.

The Chriſtians look'd upon and deſpis'd by the Heathens, as a company of rude and illiterate perſons, mechanicks, ſilly women and children. This Charge conſidered and largely anſwered by Origen. *Chriſtianity provides for the trueſt and beſt knowledge: it excludes none learned*

or

or unlearned. Christians not shy of communicating the knowledge of their mysteries to men sober and inquisitive. The efficacy of Christianity in prevailing upon men of the acutest parts and greatest learning. The Christians accused for being poor and mean. This charge (universally) false. Christianity entertain'd by persons of all sorts, of the highest as well as the lowest rank. Several instances of such: Fl. Clemens *and* Fl. Domitilla (Domitian's *near kindred*) *Christians; another* Domitilla Domitians *Neece*, Acil. Glabrio *the Consul*, Apollonius *the Senator, and others.* Philip *the Emperour proved to be no Christian: the rise of the story whence. Though Christianity had had no such persons under its profession, this had been no just reasonable prejudice. External pomp and grandeur not necessary to Religion. The advantages Christians reaped from their meanness and contempt of the world. Of their being charged as a people useless and unserviceable to the publick. This disowned. The opinion that it was not lawful for Christians to bear Arms, or Offices, particular only to some persons and in some cases, and why. How much the world* Part 1.

was

Part 1. *was beholden to Chriſtians, for reclaiming men from vice and wickedneſs. The Goſpel greatly inſtrumental that way; its general influence upon thoſe whom it did not convert: the Writings of Philoſophers generally better after Chriſtianity appeared, and why. The excellent Prayer of* Simplicius. *Chriſtians very uſeful by frequent working beneficial miracles, curing diſeaſes, raiſing the dead, diſpoſſeſſing Devils, &c. This miraculous power continued for ſeveral Ages in the Church. Chriſtians further traduced as pernicious to the world, as the cauſe of all publick evils and calamities. This objected at every turn. The occaſion of S.* Auguſtine's *and* Oroſius *his writing a vindication of it. This Charge juſtly retorted upon the Heathens, and they ſent to ſeek the cauſe of publick calamities nearer home. Some few hinted by* Tertullian. *Chriſtians unjuſtly charged with it, becauſe the world was peſtered with ſuch evils before Chriſtianity appeared in it. The publick State better and more proſperous, ſince Chriſtianity than before. Its proſperity ebb'd or increas'd, according to the entertainment Chriſtianity found in the world.*

THE

THE second sort of *arts* which the Enemies of *Christianity* made use of, to render *Christians* vile and despicable, related to the circumstances of their **external state and condition** in the world, where two things were laid to their charge, that they generally were a *very mean* and *inconsiderable sort of men*, and that they were *an useless and unserviceable people*, nay *pernicious* and *mischievous* to the world. They were looked upon as the *lowest* and *meanest* rank of men, persons neither considerable for their *parts* and *learning*, or for their *estates* and *quality*. Inconsiderable they were accounted in respect of *parts* and *learning*; *you scorn and spit us out as rude and simple, and think that the treasury of all divine and excellent knowledge is open only to your selves*, as *Arnobius* tells them. Thus *Celsus* objected, that amongst the *Christians* no wise and learned men were admitted to the *mysteries* of their Religion; let no man come that is learned, wise, and prudent (for these things, *says he*, they account evil and unlawful) but if any be unlearned, an infant or an ideot, let him come and welcome; openly declaring, that none but Fools, and

Adv. gent. l. 3. p. 49.

Orig. contr. Celf. l. 3. p. 137.

Part 1. ſuch as are devoid of ſenſe and reaſon, Slaves, ſilly Women, and little Children are fit Diſciples for the God they worſhip. We may obſerve (*ſays he*)
Ib. p. 141. theſe trifling and *Mountebank Impoſters*, bragging great things to the vulgar, not in the preſence and company of wiſe men (for that they dare not) but whereever they eſpye a flock of Boys, Slaves, and weak ſimple people, there they preſently crowd in, and boaſt them-
Pag. 144. ſelves; you ſhall ſeee (*as he goes on in this charge*) Weavers, Taylors, Fullers, and the moſt ruſtick and illiterate Fellows, at home when before their elders and betters as mute as Fiſhes; but when they can get a few Children and ſilly Women by themſelves, then who ſo wiſe and learned, who ſo full of talk, and ſo able to teach and inſtruct as they. Much to the ſame purpoſe *Cecilius* diſcourſes in *Minucius Fælix*, that the *Chriſtians* were men of a *deſperate* and *unlawful faction*, who gathering a company out of the very dregs and refuſe of the people, of ſilly, eaſie, credulous women, who by reaſon of the weakneſs of their Sex are eaſily impoſed and wrought upon, combine them into a wicked confederation, a people *mute* in *publick*,
Min. Fel. p. 7.

publick, but in *corners talkative and full of prattle.* Now to this part of the accuſation *Origen* anſwers, that 'tis for the main *falſe*, and proceeds from the ſpirit of malice and reproach: the *ſum* of his anſwer as he delivers it to the ſeveral parts of the Charge, take thus: That the *Chriſtian Doctrine* invites and calls men to wiſdom, as appears both from the Writings of the *Jews* of old, and the Scriptures of the *New Teſtament*, wherein we find many ſingularly eminent for wiſdom and learning, *Moſes*, *Solomon*, *Daniel*, and ſuch like of old, and the bleſſed *Jeſus* made choice of ſuch Diſciples as whom he judged fitteſt to communicate the ſecrets of his Religion to, and privately opened and explained to them, what he only delivered in parables and ſimilitudes unto others; that he promiſed to *ſend forth Prophets, wiſe men, and Scribes*, for the divulging and propagating of his Doctrine; that S. *Paul* reckons *wiſdom* and *knowledge* in the firſt rank of the *gifts of God*, and that if he any where ſeem to reflect ſeverely upon wiſdom or humane learning (which probably may be the firſt riſe of this Charge) he only cenſures the *abuſe*, never intending to blame the

Part 1. *Pag.* 137. *& ſeq.* *Matth.* 23. 34. 1 *Cor.* 12. 8.

Part 1. thing it self; that when he prescribes the properties of a *true Bishop*, or Governour of the Church, he requires this as one necessary qualification, *that he be apt to teach, and able by* Tit. 1. 9. *sound Doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers:* that we are so far from prohibiting any, that come who will, wise, learned, and prudent, provided the rude, simple, and unlearned be not excluded, for to them also the Gospel does promise and provide a remedy, making them meet for God; that no man but must confess that 'tis an excellent thing to study the best arts and discipline, and that learning, the study of Arts, and prudence are so far from being an hinderance to the knowledge of God, that they mightily help it and advance it: that it's a great calumny to compare us to *wandring impostors*, who by our reading and expounding the Divine Oracles, do only exhort the people to *piety* towards the great God, and to the rest of those *virtues* which are its individual companions; endeavouring to rescue men from a contempt of the Deity, and all brutish and irregular passions; a thing which the very best Philosophers of them

them all could wish for: that *Christians* Part 1.
are so far from admitting any, hand over head, that they first pre-examine the minds of those that desire to become their auditors; and having privately had tryal of them, before they receive them into the Congregation, when they perceive them fully resolved to lead a pious and religious life, then they admit them in their distinct orders, some that are newly admitted, but not *yet baptized*, others that have given some evidence and demonstration of their purpose to live as becomes Christians; amongst whom there are *Governours* appointed to inspect and enquire into the life and manners of those who have been admitted, that they may expel and turn off those *candidates* of Religion who answer not their profession; and heartily entertain those that do, and by daily converses build them up and make them better: that its false to say that we apply our selves only to *Women* and *Children*, and that in *corners*, when we endeavour what we can by all means to fill our Societies with wise and prudent persons, and to such we open the more *sublime* and *recondite principles* of Religion, otherwise accommodating our discourses

Part 1. to the capacities of meaner persons, who stand more in need of *milk* than *strong meat*: that we desire that all men may be trained up in the Word of God, and that Servants and Children may have such instructions given them, as are sutable and convenient to them, the Ministers of our Religion professing themselves to be debtors both to the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, both to the *wise* and to the *unwise*, that as much as may be they may outgrow their ignorance, and attain to the best kind of wisdom: and whereas we are accused to seduce and circumvent *silly women* and *little Children*, and to draw them away from more weighty and serious counsels; let him produce any such, and enquire of them whether ever they heard better *Masters* than ours, or if they did, why they would leave so grave a discipline, and suffer themselves to be seduced into a worse. But he'll find no such thing to fasten upon us; but that on the contrary we reclaim *women* from immodesty, from falling out with their Husbands, and parting from them, from the wild extravagancies of the sports and Theaters, and from all superstition whatsoever: the youth who are prone to vice

vice and luxury, we reſtrain, by telling them not only how baſe and degenerous a thing it is to indulge their luſt, but into how much danger they precipitate their ſouls, and what puniſhments the divine vengeance lays up for ſuch profligate offenders: we openly, not in corners, promiſe eternal happineſs to thoſe who live according to the rules of the divine Law, who ſet God always before their eyes, and whatever they do, endeavour to approve themſelves to him: and is this the *diſcipline*, theſe the *doctrines* of Weavers, Taylors, Fullers, and the moſt ruſtick and illiterate perſons; ſurely no: if at any time we refuſe to produce our inſtructions and counſels before *Maſters* of *Families*, or the *Doctors of Philoſophy*: know, that if they be ſtudious of *virtue*, enemies to vice, and ſuch as breath after the beſt things, before ſuch we are moſt willing and ready to inſtruct our youth, being well aſſur'd we ſhall find them favourable Judges: but if they be enemies to goodneſs and virtue, and oppoſers of ſound wholſom Doctrine, then if we hold our peace, no fault can juſtly be laid upon us: for in ſuch circumſtances the Philoſophers themſelves would not diſ- Part 1.

Part 1. cover the dictates and mysteries of their Philosophy. This is the *substance* of the several answers, which *Origen* pursues more at large through several pages: which though very rational and satisfactory, yet we find something pleaded more direct and positive to the charge; *viz.* that although amongst the *Christians* (as 'tis in any Society of men) the vulgar and more common sort, might not be men of the sharpest understanding, or vers'd in the more polite arts of learning, yet wanted they not (and those no small number) great *Scholars*, men of acute parts and raised abilities, such as had run through the whole *circle* of the *Sciences*, who daily came over to them: So *Arnobius* urging the triumphant power and efficacy which the Christian Faith had over the minds of men, who (*says he*) would not believe it, when he sees in how short a time it has conquered so great a part of the world; when men of so great wit and parts, *Orators*, *Grammarians*, *Rhetoricians*, *Lawyers*, *Physicians*, and *Philosophers*, have thrown up those former sentiments, of which but a little before they were so tenacious, and have embraced the Doctrines of the Gospel. So

Adv. gent. l. 2. p. 21.

fast

fast did the *Christian Church* fill with the most eminent professors of all parts of Learning, that were then known to the world. Part 1.

Nor were the *Christians* of those times more despised upon the account of their *weakness and ignorance*, than they were for their *meanness* and *poverty*; they were looked upon as *de ultima fæce*, as the *scum* and *refuse* of the people, scarce a considerable man to be found amongst them. See (*says the Heathen in Minucius Fælix*) the most and best of all your party are a *poor, beggerly, hungerstarv'd* generation, that have neither riches, nor reputation to bear them out. This Charge (however impertinent, seeing the *goodness* of any Religion depends not upon the *greatness* of its professors) was yet as *untrue* as 'twas *unreasonable*, the *Christians* having amongst them persons of the chiefest place and quality, and after some years the Princes and Potentates of the world, and even the *Emperors* themselves struck sail to the *Scepter* of *Christ*. When *Scapula* the *President* of *Carthage* threatned the *Christians* with severe and cruel usage, *Tertullian* bids him bethink himself; what wilt thou do (*says he*) with so many thousands Pag. 9. Ad Scap. c. 4. p. 71.

Part 1. thousands of men and women of every sex, age, and dignity, as will freely offer themselves? What *fires*, what *Swords* wilt thou stand in need of? What is *Carthage* it self like to suffer, if *decimated* by thee; when every one shall find there his near Kindred and Neighbours, and shall see there Matrons, and men perhaps of *thy own* rank and order, and the most principal persons, and either the Kindred or Friends of those who are thy own neerest friends. Spare them therefore for *your own* sake, if not *for ours*. And if there were persons of such quality in *Afric* (so remote, and in a manner so barbarous a Province) what may we suppose there were in *Rome* it self, and other parts of the *Roman Empire*. And in his *Apologie*, speaking of the vast spreading of the party, though (*says he*) we be men of quite another way, yet have we fill'd all places among you, your *Cities*, *Islands*, *Castles*, *Corporations*, *Councils*, nay your *Armies* themselves, your *Tribes*, *Companies*, yea the *Palace*, the *Senate*, and the *Courts* of *Justice*; only your *Temples* we have left you *free*.* Sure I am *Pliny* in his Letter to the *Emperor*, tells him, that *Christianity* had not only over-run City and Country

Cap. 37. *p.* 30.

Lib. 10. *Epist.* 97.

Country, but that it had infected many of *every* sex, age, and order of men. Part 1.

And indeed it were no hard matter out of the ancient *Histories* and *Martyrologies* of the Church, nay from the *Heathen* Writers themselves, to prove that persons of the highest rank and quality, even in those times, embraced *Christianity*, and seal'd it with their blood. Of which it may suffice to give an account only of some few. Not to insist upon the *Saints* which S. *Paul* tells us were in *Nero*'s Palace, we find many considerable persons, and some of them near a kin to the *Emperour* under the reign of *Domitian* (that cruel Prince and persecutor of *Christians*) entertaining the profession of the *Gospel*. And first let us hear the account which *Dion Cassius* the famous Historian gives us. He tells us that about the latter end of *Domitian*'s Reign he condemned many (some whereof were *slain*, others stript of their *estates*) and amongst the rest *Flavius Clemens* the *Consul*, his own Cousin-german, and his Wife *Flavia Domitilla*, near *akin* also to the *Emperour*, upon pretence of *Atheism* (ἐπηνέχθη ἔγκλημα ἀθεότητος) and for that they had embrac'd the Rites and Religion of the *Jews*.

Lib. 67. in Domit. p. 766.

Part 1. *Jews.* His Nephew *Clemens* he put to death, his Wife *Domitilla* he baniſhed into the Iſland *Pandateria.* Upon the ſame account alſo he put to death *Acilius Glabrio*, who, together with *Trajan* had been *Conſul* the year before. That the perſons here deſcrib'd were *Chriſtians*, is plain, partly from the Charge of *Atheiſm* here faſtned upon them (the common and familiar accuſation, and the title given to *Chriſtianity* by the Heathens, as we obſerv'd before) and partly becauſe they are ſaid to have paſſed over to the Rites and Cuſtoms of the *Jews*; nothing being more ordinary in the Hiſtorians of thoſe times, than to miſtake *Chriſtians* for *Jews*, and to call them ſo, becauſe both proceeding out of the ſame Country, *Chriſt* himſelf and his *Apoſtles* being *Jews* born, and his Religion firſt publiſhed and planted there. And that which may give ſome more countenance to this, is, that *Suetonius* ſpeaking of *Domitian*'s condemning this *Fl. Clemens*, repreſents him as a man *contemtiſſimæ inertiæ*, as a moſt contemptibly dull and ſluggiſh perſon, which we know was generally charged upon the *Chriſtians*, that they were an *uſeleſs* and *unactive* people, as we ſhall have

In Domitian. c. 15. p. 803.

have occaſion by and by more particularly to remark. Beſides this *Fl. Domitilla*, the Wife of *Clemens*, there was another of the ſame name, his Neece by the Siſter's ſide (unleſs *Dion Caſſius* miſtook, and put down *Wife* for *Neece*, which there's no reaſon to ſuppoſe, ſeeing both may very well conſiſt together) who (as *Euſebius* informs us) was with many more baniſhed by *Domitian* in the fifteenth year of his Reign, into the Iſland *Pontia*, and there put to death for the profeſſion of *Chriſtianity*; whoſe perſecutions and martyrdoms (*ſays he*) are recorded by Heathen-writers themſelves. Amongſt whom, I ſuppoſe, he principally intends *Brettius* or *Brutius* the Hiſtorian, whom he cites elſewhere, and out of whom he there quotes this very paſſage, *That under* Domitian *many of the Chriſtians ſuffered martyrdom, amongſt whom was* Fl. Domitilla, *Neece by the Siſter's ſide to* Fl. Clemens *the Conſul, who for being a Chriſtian was baniſhed into the Iſland* Pontia. She is ſaid after a great deal of hard and tedious uſage to have been *burnt*, together with the houſe wherin ſhe was; her memory celebrated in the *Roman Kalendar* upon the ſeventh of *May*.

Part 1.

Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 18. p. 89.

Can. Chron. ad An. Chr. 97. p. 208. & Chron. p. 80. Edit: Grac.

Martyr. Rom. ad 7. Maii.

Beſides

Part 1. Besides these, we find that *Christianity* getting ground under the quiet Reign of the Emperour *Commodus*, many of the greatest birth and fortunes in *Rome*, together with their whole Families, flock'd over to the *Christian* Faith. Amongst whom was *Apollonius*, a man famous for Philosophy, and all polite humane literature, who so gallantly pleaded his cause before the *Senate*, and was himself a *Senatour*, as S. *Hierom* informs us. I shall but mention one instance more, and that is of *Philip* the *Emperour*; whom *Eusebius* expressly affirms to have been a *Christian*, and the first of the *Emperours* that was so; followed herein by a whole troop both of ancient and modern Writers. Nay we are told by some a formal story, that this *Philip* and his *Son* were converted by the preaching of *Pontius* the Martyr, and baptized by *Fabian* Bishop of *Rome*. But notwithstanding the smoothness of the story, and the number of authorities, I must confess it seems to me scarcely probable, that a person of so bad a life, guilty of such enormous villanies, as that *Emperour* was, should either be or be thought a *Christian*; or if he was that the whole world should not presently ring of

Euseb. l. 5. c. 21. p. 189

De Script. Eccles. in Apoll.

Li. 6. c. 34. p. 232.

Act. Pont. apud. Sur. ad 14. Maii, tom. 3.

of it. Certain I am, that all Hiſtori- Part 1.
ans of that time are wholly ſilent in the caſe, nor is there the leaſt intimation of any ſuch thing in any Writer, either *Heathen* or *Chriſtian* before *Euſebius*. Nay *Origen* who wrote his Book in defence of *Chriſtianity* under the Reign of this very *Emperour*, and about this very time (nay and two Epiſtles, one to *Philip*, the other to his Wife *Severa*, if we may believe *Euſebius*) yet not only makes no mention of it, when it would have made greatly for his purpoſe, but tacitely implies there was no ſuch thing. For *Celſus* reproving the *boldneſs* and *petulancy* of the *Chriſtians*, as if they ſhould give out, that if they could but bring over the preſent *Emperours* to their Religion, all other men would quickly be brought over: *Origen* point blanck denies the Charge, and tells him there's no need of any anſwer, for that none of the *Chriſtians* ever ſaid ſo. An anſwer which ſurely he would not have given, had the *Emperour* at that time been a *Chriſtian*; not to inſiſt upon many other intimations which might be produc'd out of that Book againſt it. Beſides *Eutropius* reports, that *Philip* and his *Son* being ſlain by the Souldiers, were yet

Adv. Celſ. l. 8. p. 429.

Hiſt. Rom. l. 9. non longe ab init.

inter

Part 1. *inter Divos relati, deified,* or advanced into the number of their Gods. An *honour* which 'tis certain the *Senate* would not have done them, had they either been, or but suspected to have been *Christians.* To all which I may add, that *Eusebius* himself (in whom the first foot-steps of this story appear) builds it upon no better a foundation, than a κατ' ἀκοὴν λόγος, a bare *tradition* and *report.* That which seems to have given both birth and colour to the story is this. One *Philippus* an *illustrious* person under the Emperour *Severus,* was a long time *Governour* of *Egypt*; he by the means of his Daughter *Eugenia* was converted to *Christianity,* under whose shelter the *Christians* there enjoyed great peace and favour (nay the story adds, though certainly without any ground, that he was created Bishop of *Alexandria*) till the Emperour being acquainted with his being a Christian, presently remov'd him, and by the help of his Successor *Terentius* cau'sd him to be secretly murdered and made away. This (if any thing) was the rise of the story; and that which makes it more probable, is, the honour and excellency of that employment, the greatest of all the Offices in

Lib. 6. c. 34

Martyr. Eugen. apud Sur. ad 25. Decemb. tom. 6.

in the *Roman* Empire, the command and Part 1.
ſtate little leſs than *regal*; and therefore the Emperours in their Letter to this *Philip* (wherein they reproach him for *ingratitude* and *apoſtacy*) tell him that in a manner he was made a *King*, when he was choſen *Preſident* of *Egypt*. Accordingly the title of the Governour of *Egypt* (as appears from the *Hiſtorians*, but eſpecially the *Notitia Imperii*) was *Præfectus Auguſtalis*; and how eaſie was it to miſtake *Philippus Auguſtus* for *Philippus Auguſtalis*. But enough of this, as alſo the falſeneſs of that charge, that the *Chriſtians* were ſuch a *ſorry inconſiderable* people.

But however, let us ſuppoſe them to have been as *mean* and *poor*, as the malice and cruelty of their adverſaries did endeavour to make them, yet this was no real prejudice to their cauſe, nor any great hurt to them. That the moſt part of us are accuſed to be *poor* (*ſays Octavius in anſwer to Cæcilius his charge*) 'tis not our *diſhonour*, but our *glory*; the mind as 'tis diſſolv'd by plenty and luxury, ſo 'tis ſtrengthened and girt cloſe by indigence and frugality; and yet how can that man be *poor*, who *wants* not, who is not greedy of what's another mans, who is rich in and towards

Part 1. God? that man is rather poor, who when he has a *great deal* desires *more:* the truth is, no man can be so poor, as he was when he was *born*; the *Birds* live without any patrimony entailed upon them, and the *Beasts* find pastures every day; and yet these are born for our use, all which we fully enjoy, when we do not *covet* them: much *lighter* and *happier* does he go to Heaven, who is not *burdened* by the way with an *unnecessary* load of riches: and yet did we think *estates* so useful to us, we could beg them of God, who being *Lord* of all, might well afford a little to us; but we had rather *despise* them than *enjoy* them, and rather chuse innocency and patience, desiring more to be *good* than to be *great* and *prodigal.* If we endure outward sufferings and tortures, 'tis not so much *pain* as 'tis a *warfare*; our courage is encreased by infirmities, and calamity is very oft the *discipline* of virtue; the *nerves* both of body and mind without exercise would grow loose and faint; and therefore God is neither *unable* to help us, nor yet *negligent* of us, as being the Governour of the world, and the *Father* of his Children; but *trys* and *examines* every ones temper in an adverse

adverſe ſtate, as *Gold is tryed in the fire.* Beſides it muſt needs be a ſight very pleaſing to God, to behold a *Chriſtian* conflicting with grief and miſery, preparing himſelf to *encounter* threatnings and torments, preſſing in upon the very noiſe of *death*, and the horrour of the Executioner, maintaining his liberty againſt Kings and Princes, and only yielding to God, whoſe he wholly is, coming off from all the attempts of adverſity with victory and triumph. So argues that *excellent perſon* (and who ever reads him in his *native* language muſt confeſs it) with equal ſtrength of *eloquence and reaſon*, where he alſo briefly touches that *objection* ſo common amongſt the Heathens, that if *Chriſtians* were ſo *dear* to God, why then did he ſuffer them to be oppreſſed with ſo many miſeries and troubles, and not come in to vindicate and relieve them: an argument fully cleared by *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, and other ancient *Apologiſts* for the Chriſtian Faith. Part 1.

Arnob. adv. gent. l. 2. prop. fin. Lactant. l. 5. de juſtit. c. 22.

But this was not all, they were charged as a very *uſeleſs* and *unſerviceable* people, that contributed nothing to the happineſs of the Common-wealth; nay as *deſtructive* and *pernicious* to humane

Part 1. ſociety, and as the procuring cauſe of all thoſe miſchiefs and calamities that befel the world. In anſwer to the firſt, their being *uſeleſs* as to the common
Ap. c. 42. p. 33. good, hear what *Tertullian* ſays in the caſe; How can this be (*ſays he*) when we live amongſt you, have the ſame *diet*, *habit*, *manner*, and *way* of life? we are no *Brachmans* or *Indian Gymnoſophiſts*, who live in Woods, and baniſh themſelves from all civil life: we are not unmindful of what we owe to our great Creator, and therefore deſpiſe none of his Creatures, though careful to uſe them with *temperance* and ſobriety; wherefore we live not in the world without the uſe of your *Markets*, *Shambles*, *Bathes*, *Taverns*, *Shops*, *Stables*, *your Marts*, and other ways of humane commerce: we *go to Sea* with you, *bear Arms*, *till* and *improve the ground*, uſe *merchandize*, we undergo *Trades* amongſt you, and expoſe our *works* to your uſe; and how then we can ſeem *unſerviceable* to your affairs, with which and by
B. c. 43. which we live, I ſee not. Certainly (*ſays he*) if any have cauſe truly to complain of our being unprofitable, they are *Bawds*, *Panders*, *Pimps*, *Hectors and Ruffians*, *ſellers of poyſon*, *Magicians*, *South-*

Southſayers, *Wizards*, and *Aſtrologers*: and to be *unſerviceable* to theſe, is the greateſt *ſerviceableneſs*. But beſides this, they pleaded for themſelves, that their Religion was highly *beneficial* to the world, and in its own nature contributed to the peace and happineſs of mankind; it cannot be denied but that ſome of the *Primitive Chriſtians* were ſhie of engaging in *Wars*, and not very forward to undergo publick places of *authority* and *power*; but (beſides that this was only the *opinion* of ſome *private perſons*, and not the common and current practice or determination of the *Church*) it aroſe partly from ſome miſtaken paſſages in the *Goſpel*, turning *Evangelical Counſels* into *poſitive precepts*; but principally becauſe ſuch *Offices* and Employments were uſually clogg'd with ſuch circumſtances and conditions, as obliged them to ſome things repugnant to the Chriſtian Law: otherwiſe where they could do it without offering violence to their Religion and their Conſcience, they ſhunn'd it not, but frequently bore *Arms*, and diſcharged ſuch Publick Offices as were committed to them, as cannot be unknown to any that are never ſo little vers'd in the *Hiſtory* Part 1.

Part 1. *ſtory* of the firſt Ages of the *Church*: never were there better, more faithful and reſolute *Souldiers*, more obedient to the Orders of their Commanders, more ready to attempt the moſt hazardous enterpriſes, never boggling at any thing which they could do without ſin: of which, amongſt many others, I ſhall inſtance only in that of the *Thebæan Legion*, who being commanded upon a bloody and unlawful butchery, to deſtroy and cut off the *Chriſtians* their brethren, meekly returned this anſwer to the Heathen Emperor *Maximianus*, under whom they ſerved; we offer our *hands* againſt any Enemy, but count it unlawful to embrue them in the blood of the *innocent*: our Swords know how to ſtrike a *Rebel* or an Enemy, but not to wound thoſe who are *Citizens and guiltleſs*; we remember that we took up arms for, not againſt friends and fellow-Citizens: we have always fought for juſtice and piety, and for the ſafety of the innocent; theſe have been hitherto the price of thoſe dangers that we have run upon; we have fought for fidelity, which how ſhall we be able to keep to *you*, if we do not firſt keep it to *our God*. So far were the Chriſtians of thoſe times from refuſing to engage in the

Martyrol. Adonis ad X. Kalend. Octob.

the ſervice of their Prince. Nay thoſe of them who were ſo bound up by their private ſentiments, as not to think it lawful, yet reckoned they otherways made *equivalent* compenſation: thus when *Celſus* preſs'd the Chriſtians to undergo publick Offices, and to help the Emperours in their Wars; *Origen* anſwers, that they did ſo, though by a *divine* not *humane* help, by praying for their perſons, and their proſperity and ſucceſs; above all men (*ſays he*) we fight for the Emperor, while we train our ſelves in exerciſes of piety, and contend by prayers for him. But beſides theſe, there were ſeveral other inſtances which the Chriſtians pleaded to vindicate themſelves, from being *unſerviceable* to the good of mankind, amongſt which I ſhall at preſent take notice only of theſe two. Part 1.

Adv. Celſ. l. 8. p. 426, 427.

Firſt, That they really ſought to reclaim men from *vice* and *ſin*, to a good and a virtuous life; by which means (beſides that they provided for mens higheſt and neareſt *intereſt*, the intereſt of their ſouls, and their eternal happineſs in another life) they greatly conſulted the peace and welfare of the places where they lived; for vicious and

Part 1. wicked men are the *pests* and *plagues* of humane society, that taint and infect others by their bad examples or perswasions, and entail vengeance upon the places of their residence; whilst good men engage the favour and blessing of heaven, and both by their counsels and examples bring over others to sobriety and virtue, whereby they establish and strengthen the foundations of Government, and the happiness of civil life, and none so eminent for this as the Christians of old; this is the great *triumphant* argument wherewith *Origen* at every turn exalts the honour of *Christianity*; this (*says he*) we find in the multitudes of those that believe, who are delivered from that sink of vices, wherein before they were wont to wallow: enquire into the lives of some of us, compare our former and our present course, and you'll find in what filthiness and impieties they tumbled, before they entertained the *Christian Doctrine*; but since the time that they entred into it, how gentle and moderate, how grave and constant are they become, and some so inflam'd with the love of purity, that they forbear even what lawfully they might enjoy; how largely are the Churches

Adv Celf. lib. 1. p. 9.

ib. p. 21.

ib. p. 53.

Churches of God, founded by *Christ*, spread over all Nations, consisting of such as are converted from innumerable evil ways to a better mind: And elsewhere vindicating the Doctrine of *Christ*, from the mischievous cavils of his adversary, he tells how 'twas impossible that could be pestilent and hurtful, which had converted so many from their vices and debaucheries, to a course most agreeable to Nature and Reason, and to a life of temperance and all other virtues: and the same he urges frequently in other places, and what greater kindness and benefit could be done to men? Does *Celsus* call upon us (*says he*) to bear Offices for the good of our Country; let him know that the Country is much more beholden to Christians than to the rest of men, while they teach men piety towards God, the tutelar Guardian of the Country, and shew them the way to that heavenly City that is above, which they that live well may attain to, though here they dwell in the smallest City in the world. Nor do the Christians thus employ themselves, because they shun the publick Offices of the civil life; but only reserve themselves for the more divine and necessary

Part 1.

Lib. 2. *p.* 78

Lib. 8. *p.* 427.

Ib. p. 428.

Part 1. ceſſary ſervices of the Church, in order to the good and happineſs of men; for this they think very juſt and reaſonable, that they ſhould take care of all men, of them of their own party, that they may every day make them better; of others, that they may draw them to the belief and practice of piety and Religion; that ſo worſhipping God in truth, and doing what they can to inſtruct others, they may be united to the great God, and to his bleſſed Son, who is the wiſdom, truth, and righteouſneſs, and by whom it is that every one is converted to a pious and religious life.

De cur. and. Græc. affect. lib. Serm. 9. de Leg. p. 128. *Theodoret* diſcourſing againſt the *Gentiles*, of the excellency of the Laws of *Chriſt*, above any that were given by the beſt Philoſophers or wiſeſt men amongſt the Heathens, gives them inſtances of whole Nations whom Chriſtianity had brought off from the moſt brutiſh and ſavage manners, he tells them of the *Perſians* who by the Laws given them by *Zarada*, lived in inceſtuous mixtures with their own *Mothers*, *Siſters*, and *Daughters*, looking upon it as a lawful and warrantable practice; till entertaining *Chriſtianity*, they threw off thoſe abominable Laws, and ſubmitted to that tempe-

temperance and chaſtity which the Gospel requires of us. And whereas before they were wont to caſt out the bodies of their dead, to be devoured by Beaſts and Birds of prey, ſince they embraced the *Chriſtian* Religion, they abſtained from that piece of inhumanity, and decently committed them to the earth; from which they could not be reſtrained, either by the Laws of their Country, or the bitterneſs of thoſe torments which they underwent. The *Maſſagetes* who thought it the moſt miſerable thing in the world to *dye* any other than a violent death, and therefore made a Law that all perſons arrived to old age ſhould be offered in Sacrifice and eaten, no ſooner ſubmitted to *Chriſtianity*, but abhorred thoſe barbarous and abominable Cuſtoms. The *Tibarens*, who uſed to throw aged perſons down the ſteepeſt Rocks, left it off upon their embracing of the *Goſpel*. Upon the ſame account the *Hyrcani* and the *Caſpians* reformed their manners, who were formerly wont to keep Dogs on purpoſe to devour the bodies of the dead. Nor did the *Scythians* any longer together with their dead bury thoſe alive who had been their neareſt friends and kindred. So great Part 1.

Part 1. great a change (*says my Author*) did the Laws of *Christ* make in the manners of men, and so easily were the most barbarous Nations perswaded to entertain them, a thing which *Plato*, though the best of all Philosophers, could never effect amongst the *Athenians*, his own Fellow Citizens, who could never induce them to govern the Common-wealth, according to those Laws and Institutions which he had prescribed them.

Nay where the Gospel did not produce this effect to reclaim men from their vices and vanities, and to bring them over to the Religion of the crucified *Saviour*; yet had it this excellent *influence* upon the world, that it generally taught them better lessons, refin'd their understandings, and filled their minds with more useful and practical notions about Religion than they had before. To which purpose its mainly observable, that those *Philosophers* who lived in the times of *Christianity*, after the Gospel publickly appeared in the world, wrote in a much more *divine strain*, entertained more publick and worthy sentiments about God and Religion, and the duties of men in their several capacities, than those of their Sect that went before them.

them. Of which I conceive no account can be given so satisfactory as this, that the *genius* and spirit of the Gospel began then to fly abroad, and to breathe in a freer air, and so could not but leave some tincture and savour upon the spirits of men, though its most inveterate Enemies. Besides that many of them did more nearly converse with the Writings of *Christianity*, which they read either out of *curiosity*, or with a *design* to confute and answer them. This doubtless sharpned the edge of their understandings, and furnished them with better notions, more useful precepts and rules of life, than are to be met with in any of the old Philosophers: witness those excellent and uncommon strains of piety that run through the Writings of *Seneca*, *Epictetus*, *Antoninus*, *Arrian*, *Plutarch*, *Hierocles*, *Plotinus*, and the rest that lived in those first Ages of the Gospel: of which I could give considerable instances, were it necessary to my purpose. I shall only as a *specimen*, set down that *Prayer* wherewith *Simplicius* (Enemy enough to *Christianity*) concludes his Comment upon *Epictetus*: and thus he makes his address to God. Part 1.

Μετὰ δὲ τὸν σωτῆρα ἡμῶν ἐπιφανέντα τοῖς γενομένοις, τῆς Χριστιανικῆς θεολογίας πολλὰ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐνέμιξαν λόγοις. *Theod de Cur. Grac. Aff. Serm. 2. de princip. p. 33.*

Ἐπίτευσον

Pag. 331. Ἱκετεύω σε, Δέσποτα, ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ἡγεμὼν τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν λόγου, ὑπομνησθῆναι μὲν ἡμᾶς τῆς ἐωλῶν συγγενείας ἧς ἠξιώθημεν, παρά σε, συμπερίξαι δὲ ὡς αὐτοκινήτοις ἡμῖν πρός τε κάθαρσιν τοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων παθῶν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὑπερέχειν καὶ ἄρχειν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὡς ὀργάνοις καταχρῆσθαι κατὰ τὸν πρέποντα τρόπον. Καὶ πρὸς διόρθωσιν ἀκειβῆ τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν λόγου, καὶ ἕνωσιν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰ ὄντως ὄντα, διὰ τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας φωτός. Καὶ τὸ τέλος, τὸν σωτῆρα ἱκετεύω, ἀφελεῖν τελέως τοῦ ἀχλὺν τῶν ψυχικῶν ἡμῶν ὀμμάτων. Ὅρα γινάσκομεν ἓν (κατὰ τὸν Ὅμηρον) ἢ μὲν θεὸν, ἠδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα.

I Beseech thee, O Lord, thou that art the Father and guide of our rational powers, grant that we may be mindful of those noble and generous natures with which thou hast invested us; and assist us, that as persons endued with self-moving principles, we may cleanse our selves from all bodily and brutish passions, that we may subdue and govern them, and in a due and decent manner use them only as Organs and instruments. Help us through the light of the truth, accurately to correct our reason, and to unite it to those things that have a real existence. And in the third place, I beseech my Saviour, that he would perfectly dispel the mist that is before the eyes of our

our minds, that according to that of the Poet, we may rightly understand what belongs either to God or man. Part 1.

Besides the *matter* of this Prayer, which is very *sublime* and *spiritual*, the *manner* of its composure is considerable, consisting of *three parts*, and those addressed as it were to *three persons*, answerable to those in the *blessed Trinity*, the *Lord* (or *Father*) the *Saviour* (or *Christ*) and the *light of truth* (which even in Scripture is a common *Periphrasis* of the *Holy Spirit:*) whether he intended this, I will not say, sure I am it looks very like it. But enough of this.

Secondly, That they ordinarily wrought such *miracles* as were incomparably *beneficial* to the world, in curing *diseases*, raising the *dead*, and rescuing possessed persons from the merciless rage and cruelty of the *Devil*: we may observe, that in those *primitive* times there were innumerable multitudes of possessed persons, beyond what were in the Ages either before or since; the Divine Providence doubtless permitting it to be so, that by this means there might be a fairer occasion of commending *Christianity* to the world; and there

is

Part 1. is nothing which we more commonly meet with in the Writings of the ancient Fathers, than teſtimonies concerning their triumphant power over *evil ſpirits*: *Juſtin Martyr* diſcourſing of the end of *Chriſt's* coming into the world, for the ſalvation of men, and the ſubverſion of Devils, tells the *Senate*, that theſe things are ſo, you may know by what is done before your eyes; for many that were poſſeſſed by Devils, throughout the whole world, and even in *this City* of yours, whom all your *Inchanters*, *Sorcerers*, and *Conjurers* were not able to cure, many of us *Chriſtians* adjuring them by the name of *Jeſus Chriſt*, who was *crucified* under *Pontius Pilate*, have perfectly cured, and do ſtill cure, diſarming and driving out of men thoſe *Dæmons* that had ſeized upon them; and the ſame he affirms more than once and again in his diſcourſe with *Trypho* the *Jew*. *Irenæus* arguing againſt the Hereticks, tells us, that the true Diſciples of *Chriſt* did in his name many ſtrange things for the good of others, according as every one had received his gift, ſome ſo ſignally expelling Devils, that thoſe out of whom they were caſt came over to the Faith; others foretelling

Apol. 1. p. 45.

Adv. hæreſ. lib 2. c. 57. p. 218.

telling future events: others curing men of the moſt grievous diſtempers, by putting their hands upon them, and reſtoring them to their former health: many that have been raiſed from the dead, and afterwards lived many years amongſt us: and indeed innumerable (*ſays he*) are the gifts which God has every where beſtowed upon his Church, whereby in the name of the crucified *Jeſus*, many and great miracles are daily done to the great advantage of the world. *Tertullian* appeals to the Heathens, as a thing commonly known amongſt them, that they daily reſtrained the *power* of *Devils*, and caſt them out of men; and he tells *Scapula* the *Preſident*, that he might be ſatisfied of this from his own *Records*, and thoſe very advocates who had themſelves reaped this benefit from *Chriſtians*; as for inſtance, a certain *Notary*, and the Kinſman and Child of another; beſides divers other perſons of note and quality (not to ſpeak of the meaner ſort) who had been recovered either from Devils or from deſperate Diſeaſes: nay *Severus* the Father of *Antoninus* having been cured by being annointed with Oyl by *Proculus* a Chriſtian, he kept him in his Palace till his death; whom *Antoninus*

Part 1.

Ad Scap. c. 2. p. 69.

Ib. c. 4. p. 71.

Part 1. *ninus* knew well, having been himself nurſed by a *Chriſtian*: and in his *Apologie* he challenges the Heathens to produce any poſſeſſed perſon before the publick Tribunals, and the evil ſpirit being commanded by any *Chriſtian* ſhall then as truly confeſs himſelf to be a *Devil*, as at other times he falſely boaſts himſelf to be a *god*. And elſewhere put-
Apol. c. 37. p. 30. ting the caſe that the Chriſtians ſhould agree to retire out of the Roman Empire, he asks them what protection they would then have left againſt the ſecret
Orig. contr. C. lib. 1. p. 5. 7. 53. l. 3 p. 124. l. 7. p. 334. 376. Cypr. Ep. ad Donat. p. 3. ad Demetrian. p. 201. 206. Min. Fal. p. 23. Arnob adv. gent. l. 1. p. 13. Lactant. de Or. error. l. 2. c. 15. p. 220. Euſeb. demonſtrat. Evang. l. 3. p. 132. and inviſible attempts of Devils, who made ſuch havock both of their ſouls and bodies, whom the Chriſtians ſo freely expelled and drove out; that it would be a ſufficient piece of revenge, that hereby they ſhould leave them open to the uncontrouled poſſeſſion of thoſe evil ſpirits. 'Twere endleſs to produce all the teſtimonies of this nature, that might be fetch'd from *Origen*, *Minucius Fælix*, *Cyprian*, *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, *Euſebius*, and all the old Apologiſts for the Chriſtian Religion, (ſome whereof I have briefly *noted* in the *Margin*) who conſtantly pleaded this as a mighty and uncontroulable argument of the truth and divinity of their Religion, and of their

their great usefulness to mankind; nay this miraculous power continued in the Church some considerable time after *Constantine* and the world was become *Christian*, as appears from S. *Basil*, *Nazianzen*, and others; and though I do not give heed to all the miracles which are reported by S. *Hierom*, in the lives of *Hilarion*, *Paulus*, and some others; or by *Palladius* in his *Historia Lausiaca*; yet doubtless many of them were very true and real; God withdrawing this extraordinary power, as Christianity gained faster footing in the world, and leaving the Church to those standing methods by which it was to be managed and governed to the end of the world. Part 1. *Naz. Or. 1. Apol. p. 35. Aug de C. D. l. 22 c 8. p. 1339. Greg. Nyss. Or. in suam ordinat. tom. 1. p. 876. Athenas. de incarn. verb. p 35. edit. Lat.*

And yet notwithstanding the case was thus plain and evident, how much the world was *beholden* to *Christians*, yet were they looked upon as the *pests* of humane society, counted and called the *common enemies of mankind*, as *Tertullian* complains; that they were the causes of all publick calamities, and that for their sakes it was, that *vengeance* did so often remarkably haunt the *Roman Empire*. This was the common out-cry; if the *City* be besieged (*says Tertullian*) if any thing happen ill in the *Fields*, in the *Garrisons*, *Ap. c. 37. p. 30. Ib. c. 1. p. 2.*

Part 1. in the *Islands*, presently they cry out, *'tis because of the Christians:* they conspire the ruine of good men, and thirst after the blood of the innocent, patronizing their hatred with this vain pretence, that the *Christians* are the cause of all publick misfortunes and calamities; if *Tyber* overflow the walls, if the *Nile* do not (as 'tis wont) *overflow* the the fields, if the *Heaven* do not keep its accustomed course, if an *Earthquake* happen, if a *Famine*, or a *Plague*, presently the cry is, *away with the Christians to the Lions.* Thus *Demetrian* the *Proconsul* of *Afric* objected to S. *Cyprian*, that they might thank the *Christians*, that wars did oftner arise, that Plagues and Famines did rage so much, and that immoderate and excessive rains hindred the kindly seasons of the year. The same, *Arnobius* tells us, the Heathens were wont to object at every turn, and to conclude it as sure as if it had been dictatated by an *Oracle*, that since the *Christians* appeared in the world, the world had been well-nigh undone, mankind has been over-run with infinite kinds of evil; and the very gods themselves had withdrawn that solemn care and providence, wherewith they were wont to super-

Ibid. c 40. p. 32.

Cypr. ad Demetr. p. 197.

Arnob. adv. gent. lib. 1. p. 1.

ſuperintend humane affairs. Nay ſo hot and common was this Charge amongſt the *Pagans*, that when the *Goths* and *Vandals* broke in upon the *Roman Empire*, S. *Auguſtine* was forced to write thoſe *excellent* Books *De Civit. Dei*, purpoſely to ſtop the mouth of this objection, as upon the ſame account and at his requeſt *Oroſius* wrote his ſeven Books of Hiſtory againſt the *Pagans*. Omitting ſome of the *anſwers* given by the Fathers (as being probably leſs ſolid, and not ſo proper in this caſe; ſuch as, that 'twas no wonder if miſeries happened, and things grew worſe in this *old age* of time, the world daily growing more feeble and decrepit; and that theſe things had been *foretold by God*, and therefore muſt neceſſarily come to paſs; two arguments largely and ſtrongly pleaded by S. *Cyprian*: that thoſe evils were properly reſolvable into natural cauſes; and that every thing is not preſently *evil*, becauſe it croſſes our eaſe and intereſt, as *Arnobius* anſwers: paſſing by theſe) I ſhall take notice only of two things which the *Chriſtians* pleaded in this caſe. Part 1.

Vid. Retract. l. 2. c. 43. tom. 1. p. 52.

P. Oroſ. præf. ad lib. Hiſt. ad D. Aug.

Ad Demetrian. p. 198. 199.

Arnob. ut ſupra p. 4.

Firſt, That the *Gentiles* ſhould do very well to ſeek the *true cauſes* of theſe

Part 1. things nearer home, and to enquire whether 'twas not for their own ſakes, that the Divine Providence was thus offended with them; there being very juſt reaſons to think ſo. *Tertullian* points them to ſuch cauſes as theſe. Firſt, their horrible *affronting* their *natural notions* of God, that *when they knew God, they glorified him not God as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their fooliſh heart was darkned, and they changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an Image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four footed beaſts, and creeping things,* as S. *Paul* had told them long before: and that therefore 'twas reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that God was more angry with them, who inſtead of him worſhipped pieces of *wood* and *Statues*, or at beſt Genii and Devils, than with thoſe who ſincerely paid their adorations to him alone. Secondly, Paſſing by God the great Maſter of all goodneſs and innocence, and the ſevere revenger of all impiety, they tumbled themſelves in all manner of vice and wickedneſs; and what wonder if the Divine Juſtice followed cloſe at their heels. You are angry (*ſays Cyprian*) that God is angry, as

Ap. c. 40. p. 33.

Rom. 1. 21, 22, 23.

Ap. c. 41. *vid Arnob. l.* 1. p. 6, 7.

Ut ſupra p. 199. 200

as if in living *ill* you deserved *well*, and as if all that has happened to you were not *less* and *lighter* than your sins: and thou, *Demetrian*, who art a Judge of *others*, be in this a Judge of thy *self*, inspect the retirements of thy conscience, and behold thy self now, who shalt one day be seen naked by all; and thou wilt find thy self enslav'd and led captive by some sins or other; and why then shouldst thou wonder that the flames of the divine anger should rise higher, when the sins of men do daily administer more fuel to it: an answer which he there prosecutes to very excellent purpose. Thirdly, Their prodigious unthankfulness to God for all the former blessings they had received from him: so far as they were *ingrateful*, they were highly *guilty*, and God could not but punish them; had they sought him, whom in part they could not but know, and been observant of him, they would in this case have found him a much more propitious, than an angry Deity, as *Tertullian* tells them. Upon these and such like accounts, they might well conclude it was, that the vengeance of God did press so hard upon them, and that therefore they had no true reason to Part 1.

Part 1. lay the fault at any other door but their own.

Secondly, As to the thing it self, as 'twas charged upon them, they point blanck denied it to be true, and that for two reasons especially.

First, Because the world had been sadly and frequently *pestred* with such *evils* and *miseries* long before the *Christian Religion* appeared in it: I pray (*says Tertullian*) what miseries did overwhelm all the world, and even *Rome* it self, before the times of *Tiberius*, *i. e.* before the coming of *Christ*; have we not read of *Hierapolis*, and the Islands of *Delos*, and *Rhodes*, and *Cos* destroyed with many thousands of men? does not *Plato* speak of the greatest part of *Asia* and *Afric swallowed up* by the *Atlantic* Sea? an Earthquake drank up the *Corinthian* Sea, and the force of the *Ocean* rent off *Sicilia* from *Italy*: not to ask where were the *Christians*, the great contemners of your gods? but where were *your gods* themselves, when the Flood over-ran the world? *Palestine* had not yet received the *Jewish* Nation out of *Egypt*, much less had the *Christians* sit down there, when *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* and the adjacent parts were burnt

Ap. c. 40. p. 32.

burnt up by a ſhower of *fire and Brimſtone*, of which the Country ſmells to this day. Nor could *Tuſcia* and *Campania* complain of the *Chriſtians*, when a fire from Heaven deſtroyed the *Vulſinii* and the *Pompeii*. None as yet worſhipped the true God at *Rome*, when *Hannibal* at *Cannæ* made ſuch a ſlaughter of the *Romans*, that the very *Rings* that he took (*which were the honourable Badges of none but Roman Knights*) were meaſured by the *Buſhel*: they were all your gods that then had the general worſhip, when the *Gauls* took the *Capitol* it ſelf. So ſmartly does that *grave* man retort their own arguments upon themſelves. *Arnobius* fully and elegantly purſues this, that *in this reſpect the former times were no better than theſe*, which they ſo much complained of, and bids them run over the *Annals* and *Records* that were written in all languages, and they would find that all Nations had frequently had their common miſeries and devaſtations: the clearing of which was likewiſe the great deſign *Oroſius* propoſed to himſelf, in drawing down the Hiſtory of the world through all the Ages and Generations of it. Part 1. *Lib.* 1. p. 2, 3. *Præfat. in ſupra.* p. 2.

Secondly, Becauſe ſince the coming of *Chri-*

Part 1. *Christianity*, the world had been in a *better* and more *prosperous* state than it was before, especially when ever the Christian Religion met with any favour and encouragement; the reason of it *Tertullian* gives: although we should compare present with former miseries, yet they are much lighter now, since God sent *Christians* into the world; for since then, innocency has *ballanced* the iniquities of the Age, and there have been many who have *interceded* with Heaven: the *Author* of the *Questions* and *Answers* in *Justin Martyr* (for that it was not *Justin* himself, I think no man can doubt that reads him, the man betraying himself openly enough to have liv'd in the times of *prevailing Christianity*) putting this question, whether *paganism* was not the better Religion, forasmuch as under it there was great prosperity and abundance, whereas 'twas quite otherwise since *Christianity* came in fashion; he answers, amongst other things, that (besides that plenty was no argument of the goodness of any Religion, Christians being to be judged of rather by the *holiness* than the *prosperity* of their Religion) there was so much the more abundance in these times of *Christianity*, by

Apol. c. 40. p. 33.

Quest. 126. p. 476.

by how much there were fewer Wars, Part 1.
than was while *Paganism* governed the world. Never were wars more successfully managed, never was prosperity more triumphant, than when Christians met with kind entertainment. *Melito*, Bishop of *Sardis*, in an *Oration* which he presented to the Emperour *M. Antoninus* in behalf of the Christians (part whereof is yet extant in *Eusebius*) tells him that *Christianity* commencing under the Reign of *Augustus* was a good *omen* of the prosperity of the Empire, and that ever since the *majesty* of the *Roman Empire* had encreased: of whom he being the Heir and Successor, he could not better assure it to himself and his Son, than by protecting that Religion that had been born and bred up together with the Empire, and for which his Ancestors amongst other Religions had had an esteem and honour: that there could be no better argument, that this Religion contributed to the happiness of the Empire (with which it began and had grown up) than that since the Reign of *Augustus* no misfortune, but on the contrary, according to all mens wishes every thing had hapned to be magnificent and prosperous. Hence

Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 4. c. 26. p. 148.

Eusebius

Part 1. *Eusebius* notes once and again, that the affairs of the Empire commonly flourished, while Christianity was protected, but when that was persecuted, things began to go to rack, and their ancient peace and prosperity could not be retrieved, till peace and tranquillity was restored to the Christians: therefore *Cyprian* tells the *Proconsul*, that their cruelty to the Christians was one of those crying sins that had provoked God to inflict so many heavy miseries upon them, not only refusing to worship God themselves, but unjustly persecuting those innocent persons that did, with all the methods of rage and fierceness: so little hand had the Christians in entailing vengeance upon the world, that their Enemies rather wilfully pull'd it down upon their own heads.

Vid. ib. l. 7. c. 1. l. 8. c. 13.

De Martyr. Paleſt. c. 3. p. 322.

Ad Demetr. p. 200.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Charges brought againſt them, reſpecting their life and manners.

The Primitive Chriſtians accuſed of the groſſeſt ſins, Sacriledge, Sedition, Treaſon, Inceſt, Murder, &c. The particular conſideration of theſe referred to their proper places. What they offered in the general for their vindication conſidered. They openly aſſerted their innocency, and appealed to the known piety of their lives. None accounted Chriſtians, however eminent in profeſſion, unleſs their lives anſwerable. Their abſtaining from appearance of evil, or doing any thing that ſymbolized with the idolatrous Rites of the Heathens. Their being willing to be brought to the ſtricteſt tryal, and to be ſeverely puniſhed, if found guilty of thoſe crimes. Their complaints of being (generally) condemned, meerly for bearing the name of Chriſtians. They greatly gloried in that title. This name prohibited by Julian, *and Chriſtians commanded in ſcorn*

Part 1. *to be called* Galilæans. *The Christians appealed for their vindication to the Consciences of their impartial Enemies, and by them acquitted. The testimonies of* Pliny, Ser. Grannianus, Antoninus Pius, M. Antoninus, Trypho *the Jew, and* Apollo's *Oracle to this purpose. The excellency of Christians if compared with the best of Heathens. All such disowned for Christians, as did not exactly conform to the rule and discipline of Christianity.*

ALL the attempts that had been hitherto made against the honour and reputation of Christians, seemed but like the *first skirmishings* of an Army, in respect of the main *Battalia* that was yet behind, the Charge that was made against their **moral carriage** *and behaviour*; and here they were accused at every turn of no less than *Sacrilege*, *Sedition*, and *High-Treason*, of *incest* and *promiscuous mixtures*, of *murder*, and *eating the flesh of Infants* at their sacramental Feasts: These were sad and horrid crimes, and had they been true, would justly have made Christianity stink in the nostrils of all sober and considering men: but they were as *false* as they

they were *black* and *helliſh*: the particular Anſwers to theſe Charges (together with ſome things relating to matters of Worſhip) ſhall be conſidered hereafter, according as they fall in in their more proper places; I ſhall only at preſent take notice of the general vindication which the Chriſtians made of themſelves, from theſe Indictments that were brought in againſt them; and the ſum of what they pleaded lyes eſpecially in theſe three things. Part 1.

Firſt, They did openly aſſert and maintain their *innocency*, and ſhew by their *lives* as well as their *Apologies*, that they were men of quite another make and temper, than their Enemies did generally repreſent them: their Religion and way of life was admired by all: who (*ſays S. Clement to the Corinthians*) did ever dwell amongſt you, that did not approve of your excellent and unſhaken Faith; that did not wonder at your ſober and moderate piety in Chriſt? you were forward to every good work, adorned with a moſt virtuous and venerable converſation, doing all things in the fear of God, and having his Laws and Commands written upon the tables of your hearts. They placed Religion then

Clem. Ep. ad Corinth. p. 2. 4.

Part 1. then not in *talking finely*, but in *living well*: Amongſt us (*ſays Athenagoras*) the meaneſt and moſt mechanick perſons, and old women, although not able to *diſcourſe* and *diſpute* for the uſefulneſs of their profeſſion, do yet demonſtrate it in their lives and actions; they don't indeed critically weigh their *words*, and recite elegant *Orations*, but they manifeſt *honeſt* and *virtuous* actions; while being buffeted they ſtrike not again, nor ſue them at Law that ſpoil and plunder them; *Liberally give to them that aſk, and love their neighbours as themſelves.* And this we do, becauſe we are aſſured that there is a God that ſuperintends humane affairs, who made both us and the whole world, and becauſe we muſt give to him an account of all the tranſactions of our lives, therefore we chuſe the moſt moderate, humane, and benign, and, to many, the moſt contemptible courſe of life, for we reckon that no evil in this life can be ſo great, though we ſhould be called to lay down our lives, which ought not to be eſteemed little and of no value, in compariſon of that happineſs which we hereafter look for from the great Judge of the world, promiſed to thoſe who are of an

Leg. pro Chriſt. p. 12.

an humble, benign, and moderate con- Part 1.
verſation. *Clemens* of *Alexandria* gives us this ſhort account of them; as the faireſt poſſeſſion we give up our ſelves to God, entirely loving him, and reckoning this the great buſineſs of our lives: no man is with us a *Chriſtian*, or accounted truly rich, temperate, and generous, but he that is pious and religious, nor does any farther bear the image of God, than he ſpeaks and believes what is juſt and holy: *ſo that this in ſhort is the ſtate of us who follow God*; ſuch as are our *deſires*, ſuch are our *diſcourſes*; ſuch as are our *diſcourſes*, ſuch are our *actions*; ſuch as are our *actions*, ſuch is our *life*; ſo univerſally good is the whole life of *Chriſtians*. Certainly none were ever greater Enemies to a naked profeſſion, and the covering a bad life under the title of *Chriſtianity*. Do any live otherwiſe than Chriſt hath commanded, 'tis a moſt certain argument they are no *Chriſtians*, though with their tongues they never ſo ſmoothly profeſs the Chriſtian Doctrine; for 'tis not *meer Profeſſors*, but thoſe who live according to their profeſſion, that ſhall be ſaved, as *Juſtin Martyr* declares before the *Emperours*. Let no man (*ſays Baſil*)

Admonit. ad gent. p. 76.

Ap. 2. p. 63.

Part 1. *Baſil*) impoſe upon himſelf with inconſiderate words, ſaying, though I be a *ſinner*, yet I am a *Chriſtian*, and I hope that title will be my ſhelter; but hearken *ſinner*, all wicked men ſhall be bundled up together, and in the great day of the divine vengeance ſhall be indifferently thrown into thoſe mercileſs and devouring Flames.

Comment. in cap. 1. Eſai. tom. 2. p 68.

Nay ſo careful were they to avoid all ſin, that they ſtood at a wide diſtance from any thing, that though lawful in it ſelf, yet ſeemed to carry an *ill colour* with it; this *Origen* tells *Celſus* was the reaſon why they refuſed to do any honour to an *Image*, leſt thereby they ſhould give occaſion to others to think that they aſcribed divinity to them: for this reaſon they ſhunn'd all *community* with the Rites and Cuſtoms of the Heathens, *abſtaining from things ſtrangled*, or that had been *offered to Idols*, from frequenting the *publick Baths*, or going to the *Sights* and *Shows*, becauſe they ſeemed to owe their original to *idolatry*, and were the occaſion of many groſs enormities; they refuſed to wear *Crowns* of *Laurel*, leſt they ſhould ſeem to patronize the Cuſtom of the Gentiles, who were wont to do ſo in their ſacred and

Lib. 7. p. 375.

and solemn Rites, as appeared eminently in the Solemnities of the Emperours *Severus* and *Caracalla*, when the *Tribune* delivering the *donative* to the Souldiers, and all came to receive it with Crowns upon their *heads*, one of them brought his in his hand, and being demanded the reason, answered that he was a *Christian*, and could not do it; which was the occasion of *Tertullian*'s Book *de Coronæ Militis*, wherein he sets himself to defend it. Part 1.

Secondly, They were willing to put themselves upon the *strictest* trial, and to undergo the *severest* penalties, if found guilty of those Crimes that were charged upon them: So their *Apologist* bespeaks the *Emperours*; we beseech you (*says he*) that those things that are charged upon the *Christians* may be enquired into, and if they be found to be so, let them have their deserved punishment, nay let them be more severely punished than other men: but if not guilty, then 'tis not reasonable, that innocent persons should suffer meerly upon report and clamour. And speaking of those that only took sanctuary at the name of *Christians*, he adds, that those who lived not according to the Laws *Just. Martyr. Ap. 2. p. 54.*

Part 1. of *Christ*, and were only called by his name, they begg'd of them that such might be punished. To the same purpose *Athenagoras* in his *Embassy*, taking notice how their Enemies laid wait for their lives and fortunes, loaded them with heaps of reproaches, charging them with things that never so much as entred into their minds, and of which their accusers themselves were most guilty, he makes this offer; let but any of us be convict of any crime either small or great, and we refuse not to be punished, nay are ready to undergo the most cruel and heavy penalty: but if we be only accused for our name (and to this day all our accusations are but the figments of obscure and uncertain *fame*, no Christian having ever been convict of any fault) then we hope it will become such *wise*, *gracious*, and *mighty* Princes as you are, to make such Laws as may secure us from those wrongs and injuries. But alas, so clear was their innocency, that their bittereſt adversaries durst not suffer them to come to a fair open tryal; if you be so certain that we are guilty (*says Tertullian to the Heathens*) why then are we not treated in the same nature with all *malefactors*;

Leg. pro Christian. p. 3.

Ap. c. 2. p. 2.

factors; who have leave both by themſelves and their *advocates* to defend their innocency, to anſwer and put in pleas, it being unlawful to condemn any before they be heard, and have liberty to defend themſelves; whereas Chriſtians only are not permitted to ſpeak any thing that might clear their cauſe, maintain the truth, and make the Judge able to pronounce righteous ſentence: 'tis enough to juſtifie the publick *odium*, if we do but confeſs our ſelves *Chriſtians*, without ever examining of the crime; contrary to the manner of procedure againſt all other Delinquents, whom 'tis not enough barely to charge as being *murderers*, *ſacrilegious*, or *inceſtuous*, or *enemies* to the *Publick* (the *titles* you are pleaſed to beſtow upon us) unleſs they alſo take the quality of the fact, the place, manner, time, partners and acceſſories under examination. But no ſuch favour is ſhewn to us, but we are condemned without any *inquiſition* paſſed upon us: and good reaſon there was, that they ſhould take this courſe, ſeeing they could really find nothing to condemn them for, but for being *Chriſtians*. This one would think ſtrange, eſpecially amongſt a people ſo renowned for Part 1.

Part 1. *justice* and *equity* as the *Romans* were, and yet in these times nothing more ordinary; therefore when *Urbicus* the *Prefect* of *Rome* had condemned *Ptolomeus* meerly upon his confessing himself a Christian, one *Lucius* that stood by cryed out, *What strange course is this, what infamous misdemeanour is this man guilty of; that when he's no adulterer, fornicator, no murderer, no thief, or robber, thou shouldest punish him only because he calls himself a Christian: certainly*, Urbicius, *such justice as this does not become the piety of the Emperour, or the Philosophy of* Cæsar *his Son, or the sacred and venerable Senate.* And *Tertullian* tells us, 'twas the common accusation they had in their mouths, *such* or *such a one is a good man, only he is a Christian*; or, *I wonder at such a one, a wise man, but lately turned Christian.* So *Cyprian*, I remember, reduces his adversary to this unavoidable dilemma; chuse one of these two things, to be a Christian, either is a fault, or 'tis not; if it be a *fault*, why dost thou not kill every one that confesses it? if it *be not*, why dost thou persecute them that are innocent. Hence we find nothing more common in the old *Apologists*, than complaints concerning the unreasonableness

Just. Mart. Ap. 1 p. 43.

Ap. c. 3. p. 4.

Ad Demetrian pag. 100.

Vid. Tertul. Ap c. 1, 2, 3 J. Mart. Ap. 2. p. 54. 68. 69. Athenag. leg. pro Christian. p. 3. 4.

bleneſs of being accuſed, condemned, and puniſhed, meerly for their *name*, this being the firſt and great cauſe of all that hatred and cruelty that was exerciſed towards them, 'twas the innocent name that was hated in them, all the quarrel was about this title, and when a Chriſtian was guilty of nothing elſe, 'twas this made him guilty, as *Tertullian* complains at every turn: the truth is, they mightily gloried in this *title*, and were ambitious to owne it in the face of the greateſt danger; therefore when *Attalus* the famous *French Martyr* was led about the *Amphitheatre*, that he might be expoſed to the hatred and deriſion of the people, he triumphed in this, that a *tablet* was carried before him with this Inſcription, THIS IS ATTALUS THE CHRISTIAN: and *Sanctus* another of them being oft asked by the *Preſident*, what his *name* was, what his *City* and *Country*, and whether he was a Free-man or a Servant, anſwered nothing more to any of them, than that he was a *Chriſtian*, profeſſing this name to be Country, Kindred, and all things to him. Nay ſo great was the honour and value which they had for this name, that *Julian* the Emperour (whom we com-

Part 1.

Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 5. c. 1. p. 162.

Ib. p. 158.

Part 1. monly call the *Apostate*) endeavoured by all ways to suppress it, that when he could not drive the thing, he might at least banish the name out of the world; and therefore did not only himself constantly call Christians *Galilæans*, but made a *Law*, that they should be called only by that name. But to return, the sum is this, the Christians were so buoy'd up with the conscience of their innocency, that they cared not who saw them, were willing and desirous to be scann'd and searched to the bottom, and to lye open to the view of all; and therefore desired no other favour, than that that *Apologie* which *Justin Martyr* presented to them, might be set out with the Decree of the *Senate*, that so people might come to the true knowledge of their case, and they be delivered from false suspicions, and these accusations, for which they had been undeservedly exposed to so many punishments.

Naz. invect. in Julian. 1. p. 81.

Ap. 1. p. 51.

Thirdly, They appealed for their vindication to the judgment and consciences of their more sober and impartial Enemies, and were accordingly acquitted by them, as guiltless of any hainous crimes. *Pliny* the younger being commanded

manded by the Emperour *Trajan*, to give him an account of the *Chriſtians*, tells him, that after the beſt eſtimate that he could make, and the ſtricteſt inquiſition that he could make by tortures, he found no *worſe* of them than this, that they were wont to meet early for the performance of their ſolemn devotions, and to bind themſelves under the moſt *ſacred obligations*, to commit no vice or wickedneſs, and that their Religion was nothing elſe but an untoward and immoderate ſuperſtition; this is the *teſtimony* which that great man, (who being *Proconſul* of *Bithynia* was capable to ſatisfy himſelf, and who was no leſs diligent to ſearch into the matter) gives concerning them. Next after him *Serenius Granianus* the *Proconſul* of *Aſia*, writes to the Emperour *Adrian* (*Trajans* ſucceſſor) to repreſent to him how unjuſt it was to put Chriſtians to death, when no crime was duly laid to their charge, meerly to gratifie the tumultuous clamours of the people, to whom the *Emperour* anſwers, that they ſhould not be unjuſtly troubled, that if any thing was truly prov'd againſt them, he ſhould puniſh them according to the nature of the fault; but if done out of malice

Part 1.

Epiſt. l. 10. Ep. 97.

Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 4. c. 8. 9. p. 122.

Part 1. malice or ſpite, he ſhould then accordingly puniſh the accuſer as a calumniator. Next to *Adrian*, *Antoninus Pius* (if he be not miſtaken for his ſucceſſor *Marcus*) in his Epiſtle to the *Commons* of *Aſia*, tells them, that they had traduced the *Chriſtians*, and had objected thoſe crimes to them, which they could not prove; that they were more firm and undaunted in their profeſſion than themſelves, and had a greater freedom with and confidence towards God; and that therefore he reſolved to ratifie and follow the determination of his Father. After him comes *M. Antonimus*, who having obtained that famous and ſignal Victory againſt the *Quades* in *Germany*, confeſſes in his Letter to the Senate (which Letter, though I know 'tis queſtioned by ſome learned men, as now extant, whether true and genuine, yet that there was ſuch a Letter is evident enough from *Tertullian*, who himſelf lived within a few years of that time, and appeals to it) that it was clearly gotten by the prayers of the *Chriſtian Legion* which he had in his Army, and therefore commands that none be moleſted for being Chriſtians, and that if any accuſe a Chriſtian for being ſuch, without

J. Martyr. Ap. 2. p. 100.

ὑπαρρησιαζοτέρους

Ib. p. 101, 102.

Ap. c. 5. p. 6. & ad Scap. c. 4. p. 71.

without a ſufficient crime proved againſt him, he ſhall be burnt alive for his accuſation, that a Chriſtian confeſſing himſelf to be one ſhall be ſafe and ſecure, and that the *Governour* of the *Province* ſhall not drive him to renounce his profeſſion, and this he commands to be confirmed by the Decree of the *Senate*: So clear did the Chriſtians appear to their greateſt Enemies, eſpecially in their more calm and ſober intervals. Nay *Trypho* the *Jew* (and that very notion ſpeaks him enemy enough, yet) confeſſes them clear of thoſe foul aſperſions; for when the *Martyr* had asked him, whether he diſliked the Chriſtians manners and way of life, and whether he really believed that they ate mans fleſh, and putting out the Candles ran together in promiſcuous mixtures; the *Jew* anſwered, that thoſe things whereof they were accuſed by many were unworthy of belief, as being ſo extreamly abhorrent to humane nature; and that the precepts which are commanded in their Goſpel (which his curioſity had prompted him to *read*) were ſo *great* and *admirable*, that he ſuppoſed no man could be able to keep and obey them. And to inſtance in no more, the *Heathen*

Part 1.

J. Mart. dial. cum Tryph. p. 227.

Part 1. *then Oracle* it self pronounced in favour of the Christians; for *Apollo* giving forth his Oracles, not as he was wont by humane voice, but out of a dark and dismal *cavern*, confessed it was because of *just men* that lived upon the earth; and when *Diocletian* enquired who those just men were, one of the Heathen *Priests* that stood by answered, that they were *the Christians*. This *Constantine* the *Great* tells he himself heard, being then a young man, and in company at that time with the Emperour *Diocletian*, and he there solemnly calls God to witness for the truth of the story.

Euseb. de vit. Constant. l. 2. c. 50. 51. p. 467.

From all which it appears how innocent the *Christians* were of those things which the *Gentiles* charged upon them, how infinitely strict and unblamable in their lives, and therefore triumphed over the Heathens in the purity and innocency of their conversations. *Origen* tells *Celsus*, that the Churches of God which had taken upon them the discipline of *Christ*, if compared to the common Societies of men, *were amongst them like lights in the world.* For who *(says he)* is there, but he must needs confess that the worser part of our Church is much better than the popular assemblies;

Lib. 3. p. 128. 129.

assemblies; as for instance, the *Church* Part 1.
of God at *Athens* is meek and quiet, as endeavouring to approve it self to the great God; whereas now the *popular assembly* of *Athens* is seditious and tumultuous, and no ways to be compared with the Church of God in that City; and the same may be said of the Churches of God, and the vulgar assemblies which are at *Corinth*, or *Alexandria*. So *Minucius Fælix*, should we Christians be *Pag.* 29. compared with you, although our Discipline may seem somewhat inferiour, yet we should be found infinitely to transcend you: you *forbid* adultery, and then *practise* it; we keep entirely to our own Wives; you punish wickedness when *committed*, with us even a wicked *thought* is sin; you stand in awe of those who are *conscious* of your crimes, we of nothing but our *consciences*, without which we cannot be; and last of all 'tis with *your party* that the Prison is filled and crowded, no *Christian* is there, unless such a one as is either a shame to his Religion, or an Apostate from it: and a little after he tells his adversary, *Pag.* 31. how much they exceeded the best Philosophers, who were filthy and tyrannical, and only eloquent to declare against

Part 1. againſt thoſe vices of which themſelves were moſt guilty: that we Chriſtians do not meaſure wiſdom by mens habits, but by their minds and tempers, and do not ſpeak great things, but live them, having this to boaſt of, that we really attain to thoſe things which they earneſtly ſought, but could not find. Thus *Lactantius* having excellently diſcourſed of the prodigious debaucheries and wickedneſſes of the Heathens; but which of theſe things (*ſays. he*) can be objected to our people, whoſe whole Religion is to live *without ſpot or blemiſh*: from whence they might eaſily gather, had they any underſtanding, that piety is on our ſide, and that they themſelves are vile and impious. And *Euſebius* tells us, that in his time the Chriſtian Faith had by gravity, ſincerity, modeſty, and holineſs of life, ſo conquered all oppoſition, that none durſt beſpatter it, or charge it with any of thoſe calumnies, which the ancient Enemies of our Religion uſed to faſten upon it. What Religion (*ſays Arnobius*) can be truer, more uſeful, powerful, juſt than this? which (as he elſewhere notes) renders men meek, ſpeakers of truth, modeſt, chaſte, charitable, kind

De juſtit. l. 5. c. 9. p. 485.

Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 4. c. 7. p. 121. vid. Conſtant. Or. ad cœtum S. S. c. 23. p. 599.

kind and helpful to all, as if most nearly related to us; and indeed this is the genuine and natural tendency of the Christian Doctrine, and which it cannot but effect, where-ever 'tis kindly embraced and entertained. So true is that which *Athenagoras* told the *Emperours*, that no *Christian* could be a bad man, unless he were an *Hypocrite*; and *Tertullian* openly declares, that when men depart from the discipline of the Gospel, they so far cease amongst us to be accounted *Christians*: and therefore when the Heathens objected, that some that went under that name were guilty of great enormities, and enquired how comes such a one to be a cheat, if the Christians be so righteous; how so cruel, if they be merciful? he answers, that by this very thing they bore witness, that they who were real Christians were not such; that there's a vast difference between the *crime* and the *name*, the *opinion* and the *truth*; that they are not presently Christians that are called so, but cheat others by the pretence of a name; that they shunn'd the company of such, and did not meet or partake with them in the offices of Religion; that they did not admit *those* whom

Part 1.

Leg. pro Christian. p. 4.

Apol. c. 46. p. 36.

Ad Nation. l. 1. c. 5. p. 43.

meer

Part 1. meer force and cruelty had driven to deny *Christianity*, much less such as voluntarily transgressed the Christian Discipline; and that therefore the Heathens did very ill to call them *Christians*, whom the Christians themselves did disown, who yet were not wont to deny their own party.

CHAP. V.

Of the positive parts of their Religion: and first of their piety towards God.

The Religion of the ancient Christians considered, with respect to God, themselves, and other men. Their piety seen in two things, their detestation of Idolatry, and great care about the matters of divine Worship. What notion they had of Idolatry; their abhorrency of it. Their refusing to give divine honour to Angels and created Spirits; this condemned by the Laodicean Council. Their denying any thing of divine honour to Martyrs and departed Saints. The famous instance of the Church of Smyrna

Smyrna *concerning S.* Polycarp. *S.* Au- Part 1.
guſtine's *teſtimonies to this purpoſe. Their mighty abhorrence of the Heathen Idolatry. The very making an Idol accounted unlawful. Hatred of Idolatry one of the firſt principles inſtilled into new Converts. Their affectionate bewailing any that laps'd into this ſin. Several ſevere penalties impoſed by the ancient Council of* Illiberis *upon perſons guilty of Idolatry. They were willing to hazard any thing rather than ſacrifice to the Gods.* Conſtantius *his plot to try the integrity of his Courtiers. A double inſtance of the Chriſtian Souldiers in* Julian's *Army. Their active zeal in breaking the Images of the Heathen gods, and aſſaulting perſons while doing ſacrifice to them; this whether juſtifiable. Notwithſtanding all this, the Chriſtians accuſed by the Heathens of Idolatry; of worſhipping the Sun: whence that charge aroſe. Of adoring a Croſs. Of worſhipping an Aſſes head. Chriſtians called* Aſinarii. *The abſurd and monſtrous Picture of Chriſt mentioned by* Tertullian. *The occaſion of this ridiculous fiction whence.*

Part 1.

HAving thus seen with how much clearness the ancient Christians vindicated themselves from those unjust aspersions, which their spightful and malicious adversaries had cast upon them; we come now to take a more direct and positive view of their Religion; which
Tit. 2. 12. according to S. *Pauls* division, we shall consider as to their *piety* towards God; those *virtues* which more immediately concern'd *themselves*, and those which respected their behaviour and carriage towards *others*. Their *piety* towards God appeared in those two main instances of it, a serious and hearty detestation of **Idolatry**, and a religious care about the concerns of **Divine Worship**.

De idololat. c. 1. p. 85. **Idolatry** in those times was the prevailing sin of the world; *the principal crime of mankind, the great guilt of the Age, and the almost sole cause of mens being brought into judgment*, as what in a manner contains all sins under it, as *Tertullian* begins his Book upon that subject; a crime of the *first ranck*, and one of the *highest sorts of wickedness*, as
Conc. Illiberit. Can. 1. 'tis called by the most *ancient Council* in *Spain*. They looked upon it as a sin that

that undermined the very being of the Deity, and ravished the honour of his Crown. Before we proceed any further, we shall first enquire what was the notion they generally had of Idolatry; and they then accounted that a man was guilty of Idolatry, when he gave *divine adoration* to any thing that was *not God*, not only when he worshipped a *material Idol*, but when he vested *any creature* with that religious respect and veneration that was *only* due to God: Idolatry (*says Tertullian*) robs God, denying him those honours that are due to him, and conferring them upon others, so that at the same time it does both *defraud* him and *reproach* him: and a little after he expressly affirms, that whatever is exalted above the Standard of *civil Worship*, in imitation of the divine excellency, is directly made an Idol: thus S. *Gregory*, for his solid and excellent learning call'd *the Divine* (a title never given to any besides him but to St. *John* the *Apostle*) defines Idolatry (which, *says he*, is the greatest evil in the world) to be *the translation of that worship that is due to the Creator upon the Creature.* Accordingly we find them infinitely zealous to assert divine adoration, as

Part 1.

Vt supra c. 11.

Ib. c. 15. p. 95.

Greg. Naz. Orat. Paneg. in Nativit. Christi. Or. 38. p. 620.

Part 1. the proper and incommunicable prerogative of God alone, and absolutely refusing to impart religious Worship to any though the best of Creatures; surely if any, one would think *Angels*, the first rank of *created* beings, creatures of such sublime excellencies and perfections, might have challenged it at their hands; but hear what *Origen* says to this; we adore (*says he*) our Lord God, and serve him *alone*, following the example of *Christ*, who when tempted by the Devil to fall down and worship him, answered, *thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*; which is the reason why we refuse to give honours to those spirits that *preside* over humane affairs, because *we cannot serve two Masters*, to wit, *God* and *Mammon*: as for these *Dæmons*, we know that they have no administration of the conveniencies of mans life: yea, though we know that they are not *Dæmons*, but *Angels*, that have the Government of fruits and seasons, and the productions of Animals committed to them; we indeed speak *well* of them, and think them *happy*, that they are intrusted by God to manage the conveniencies of mans life; but yet do not give them that honour

Contr. Celf. l. 8. p. 415. 416.

honour that is only due to God; for this neither does God allow of, neither do they deſire it; but equally love and regard us when we do not, as if we did ſacrifice to them. And when *Celſus* a little before had ſmartly preſſed him to do honour to *Dæmons*, he rejects the motion with great contempt, away (*ſays he*) with this counſel of *Celſus*, who in this is not in the leaſt to be hearkned to; for the great God only is to be adored, and prayers to be delivered up to none but his only begotten Son, *the firſt born of every creature*, that as *our High-Prieſt* he may carry them to *his Father* and to *our Father*, *to his God* and *to our God*. 'Tis true that the Worſhip of *Angels* did (and that very early, as appears from the *Apoſtles* caveat againſt it in his *Epiſtle* to the *Coloſſians*) creep into ſome parts of the Chriſtian Church, but was always diſowned and cryed out againſt, and at laſt publickly and ſolemnly condemned by the whole *Laodicean Council*: it is not lawful (*ſays the thirty fifth Canon of that Council*) for Chriſtians to leave the Church of God, and to go and invocate Angels, and to make prohibited aſſemblies: if therefore any one ſhall be found devoting himſelf to

Part 1.

Pag. 395.

Part 1. this *private* Idolatry, let him be *accurſed*; foraſmuch as he has forſaken *the Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, the Son of God, and has delivered up himſelf to Idolatry. From which nothing can be more clear, than that it was the ſenſe of theſe Fathers, that the *worſhipping of Angels* was not only down right *Idolatry*, but a plain *apoſtacy* from the Chriſtian Faith.

Nor were they more peremptory in denying divine honour to *Angels*, than they were to *Martyrs* and *departed Saints*: for though they had a mighty honour and reſpect for *Martyrs* (as we ſhall take notice afterwards) as thoſe that had maintained the truth of their Religion, and ſeal'd it with their blood, and therefore did what they could to do praiſe and honour to their memories, yet were they far from placing any thing of Religion or divine adoration in it; whereof 'twill be enough to quote one famous inſtance. The Church of *Smyrna* writing to the Churches of *Pontus*, to give them an account of the martyrdom of *Polycarpus* their Biſhop, tells them, that after he was dead, many of the Chriſtians were deſirous to have gotten the *remains* of his body (poſſibly to have given them decent and honourable burial)

Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 4. c. 15. p. 134

rial) but were prevented in it by some *Jews*, who importun'd the *Proconsul* to the contrary, suggesting that the Christians leaviug their *crucified* Master, might henceforth worship *Polycarpus*, whereupon they add, that this suggestion must needs proceed from ignorance of the true state of Christians; this they did (*say they*) not considering how impossible 'tis that ever we should either forsake *Christ*, who died for the salvation of mankind, or that we should worship any other. We adore him as the *Son* of God; but the *Martyrs*, as the Disciples and Followers of our Lord, we deservedly love for their eminent kindness to their own Prince and Master; whose Companions and Fellow-Disciples we also by all means desire to be. This instance is so much the more valuable in this case, not only because so *plain* and *pertinent*, but because so *ancient*, and from persons of so great *authority* in the Church: For this is not the testimony of any one private person, but of the *whole Church* of *Smyrna*, according as it had been trained up under the Doctrine and Discipline of *Polycarpus*, the immediate Disciple of S. *John*. This was the Doctrine and practice of Christians Part 1.

Part 1. then, and it held so for some Ages after, even down to the times of S. *Augustine*, when yet in many other things the simplicity of the Christian Religion began to decline apace: we set apart (*says he*) no *Temples*, nor *Priests*, nor *divine services*, nor *sacrifices* to *Martyrs*; because they are *not God*, but the same who is theirs, is our God: indeed we honour their *memories*, as of holy men, who have stood for the truth, even unto death, that so the true Religion might appear, and those which are false convinc'd to be so: but who ever heard a *Priest* standing at the *Altar*, built for the honour and worship of God over the body of the holy *Martyr*, to say in his *prayers*, *I offer sacrifice to thee Peter, or Paul, or Cyprian*; for in such commemorations we offer to that God, who made them both men and Martyrs, and has made them partners with holy Angels in the heavenly glory; and by these solemnities we both give thanks to the true God for the victories which they have gain'd, and also stir up our selves by begging his assistance, to contend for such crowns and rewards as they are possessed of; so that whatever offices religious men perform in the *places* of the

Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 8. c. 27. p. 492. vid. l. 22. c. 10. col. 1355.

the *Martyrs*, they are only *ornaments* to their memories, not *ſacrifices* or divine ſervices done to the departed, as if they were Deities. More to the ſame purpoſe we may find in that place, as alſo in infinite other places of his Works, where (were it worth the while) I could eaſily ſhew that he does no leſs frequently than expreſly aſſert, that though the *honour* of *love*, *reſpect*, and *imitation*, yet no *religious adoration* is due either to *Angels*, *Martyrs*, or *departed Saints*. Part 1.

But the great inſtance, wherein the primitive *Chriſtians* manifeſted their deteſtation of Idolatry was in reſpect of the *idolatrous Worſhip* of the Heathen world, the denying and abhorring any thing of divine honour that was done to their gods. They looked upon the very *making* of Idols (though with no intention to worſhip them) as an unlawful trade, and as inconſiſtent with Chriſtianity: how have we renounced the Devil and his Angels (ſays *Tertullian*, meaning their *ſolemn renunciation in baptiſm*) if we make Idols, nor is it enough to ſay, though I *make* them, I do not *worſhip* them; there being the ſame cauſe not to make them, that there is not to worſhip them; *viz.* the *offence* that

De Idololat. c. 5. p. 88.

Part 1. that in both is done to God: yea, thou doſt ſo far worſhip them, as thou makeſt them that others may worſhip them: and therefore he roundly pronounces, that no *Art*, no *Profeſſion*, no *ſervice* whatſoever that is employed either in *making* or *miniſtring* to Idols, can come ſhort of Idolatry. They ſtartled at any thing that but the leaſt *ſhadow* of ſymbolizing with them in their Idolatry; therefore the *Ancyran* Council condemned them to a two years ſuſpenſion from the *Sacrament*, who ſit down with their *Heathen friends* upon their ſolemn Feſtivals in their *Idol-Temples*, although they brought their own Proviſions along with them, and touched not one bit of what had been *offered* to the Idol. Their firſt care in inſtructing new Converts, was to leaven them with the hatred of Idolatry: thoſe that are to be initiated into our Religion (*ſays Origen*) we do before all things inſtil into them a diſlike and contempt of all Idols and Images, and lift up their minds from worſhipping Creatures inſtead of God, to him who is the great Creator of the world. If any through weakneſs chanced at any time to lapſe into this ſin, how *pathetically* did they bewail it. So *Celerinus* in his

Cap. 11. *p.* 92. *vid. c.* 9. 10.

Can. 7.

Adv. Celſ. l. 3. *p.* 120.

Epiſtle

Epiſtle to *Lucian*, giving him an account of a woman that to avoid perſecution had done ſacrifice, and thereby fallen from *Chriſt*, he bewails her as *dead*, tells him that it ſtuck ſo cloſe to him, that though in the time of *Eaſter*, a time of feſtivity and rejoicing, yet he wept night and day, and kept company with ſack-cloth and aſhes, and reſolved to do ſo, till by the help of *Chriſt* and the prayers of good men, ſhe ſhould by repentance be raiſed up again. The better to prevent this ſin (wherein weaker Chriſtians were ſometimes enſnared in thoſe times of cruelty and perſecution) the diſcipline of the ancient Church was very ſevere againſt it, of which we can have no better evidence, than to take a little view of the determinations relating to this caſe of that ancient Council of *Illiberis*, held ſome years before the time of *Conſtantine*; there we find, that if any Chriſtian after Baptiſm took upon him the *Flamin-ſhip* or Prieſthood of the Gentiles (an Office ordinarily devolved upon the better ſort, and which Chriſtians ſometimes either made ſuit for to gain more favour with the people, or had it forc'd upon them by the Laws of the Country, ſo that they muſt either undergo

Part 1.

Inter Epiſt. Cypr. Ep. 20. p. 32.

Concil. Illiber. Can. 2. vid. not. Albaſpin. p. 5. & de rit. Eccleſ. Obſ. 22.

Part 1. undergo it, or flye and forfeit their Estates) such a one no not at the hour of *death* was to be received into the *Communion* of the Church. The reason of which severity was, because who ever underwent that Office must do *sacrifice* to the gods, and entertain the people with several kinds of Sights, Plays, and Sports, which could not be managed without murders, and the exercise of all lust and filthiness, whereby they did *Vid. Can. 3. p. 8.* *double* and *treble* their sin, as that Council speaks. If a Christian in that Office did but allow the *charges* to maintain those Sports and Sights (although he did not *actually* sacrifice, which he might avoid, by substituting a *Gentile* Priest in his room) he was indeed to be taken into communion at last, but was to undergo a very severe *penance* for it all his life. Nay although he did neither of the former, yet if he did but wear a *Can. 55. p. 69.* *Crown* (a thing usually done by the Heathen Priests) he was to be excluded from communion for *two years* together. If a *Can. 59. p. 71.* Christian went up to the *Capitol* (probably out of curiosity) only to see the sacrifices of the Gentiles, and did not see them, yet he should be as guilty as if he had seen them, his intention and will being

being the ſame, as the learned *Albaſpine* (and I think truly) underſtands the *Canon*; and in ſuch a caſe, if the perſon was one of the *faithful*, he was not to be received till after *ten years* repentance. Every Maſter of a Family was commanded to ſuffer no *little Idols* or *Images* to be kept in his houſe, to be worſhipped by his Children or Servants; but if this could not be done without danger of being betrayed and accuſed by his Servants (a thing not unuſual in thoſe times) that then at leaſt he himſelf ſhould abſtain from them; otherwiſe to be thrown out of the Church. Being imbued with ſuch *principles*, and train'd up under ſuch a *diſcipline* as this, 'tis no wonder, if they would *do* or *ſuffer* any thing rather than comply with the leaſt ſymptom of Idolatry; they willingly underwent baniſhment and confiſcation, amongſt ſeveral of which ſort *Caldonius* tells *Cyprian* of one *Bona*, who being violently drawn by her Husband to ſacrifice, they by force guiding her hand to do it, cryed out and proteſted againſt it, that 'twas not *ſhe* but *they* that did it, and was thereupon ſent into baniſhment. They freely laid down their greateſt honours and dignities, rather than by any

Part 1.

Can. 41. p. 57.

Ep. 18. p. 30

idola-

Part 1. *idolatrous* act to offer violence to their consciences. Whereof *Constantius*, the Father of *Constantine*, made this wise experiment, he gave out that all the Officers and great men of the *Court* should either do sacrifice to the gods, or immediately quit his service, and the Offices and preferments which they held under him; whereupon many turned about, while others remained firm and unshaken; upon this the prudent and excellent Prince discovered his Plot, embraced, commended, and advanced to greater honours those who were faithful to their Religion and their conscience; reproaching and turning off those who were so ready to quit and forfeit them. Thus *Jovianus* a man of considerable note and quality, and an Officer of great place in *Julian*'s Army, when the Emperour sent out his Edict, that all the Souldiers should either sacrifice, or lay down their Arms, presently threw away his *belt*, rather than obey that impious command; though the Emperour at that time, for reasons of State would not suffer him to depart. And after the death of *Julian*, when by the unanimous vote of the whole Army he was chosen Emperour, he utterly refused

Euseb. de vit. Constant. l. 1. c. 19. p. 417

Socr. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 22. p. 195.

fuſed it, 'till the Army had renounced their *Pagan* idolatry and ſuperſtition: and though 'tis true, that *life* is deareſt to men of all things in this world; yet how chearfully did they chuſe rather to ſhed their blood, than to defile their conſciences with Idolatry; of which *Euſebius* gives us many inſtances, and indeed this was the common teſt in thoſe times, either *ſacrifice* or *dye*. *Phileas* Biſhop of the *Thmuitæ* in a Letter to his people, giving them an account of the martyrdoms that hapned at *Alexandria*, tells them, that many after having endured ſtrange and unheard of torments, were put to their choice, whether they would ſacrifice and be ſet at liberty, or refuſe and loſe their heads; whereupon all of them without any heſitation readily went to embrace death; knowing well how the Scripture is, *that whoever ſacrifices to ſtrange gods ſhall be cut off*; and again, *thou ſhalt have no other gods but me*. And in the next Chapter *Euſebius* tells us of a whole City of Chriſtians in *Phrygia*, which together with all the men women and children was burnt to aſhes, for no other reaſon, but becauſe they univerſally confeſſed themſelves to be *Chriſtians*,

Part 1.

Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 8. c. 10. p. 304

Part 1. *ans*, and refuſed to obey thoſe that commanded them to worſhip Idols: inſtances of which kind there are enough to be met with in the *Hiſtories* of the Church.

And ſo fix'd and unmoveable were they in this, that no promiſes or hopes of reward, no fears or threatnings could either tempt or ſtartle them; memorable a paſſage or two that we meet withal to this purpoſe: it was a cuſtom amongſt the *Romans* to ſhow ſome reſpect and honour not only to the *Emperours* themſelves, but even to their *Statues* and *Images*, by bowing the body, or ſome other act of external veneration. Now *Julian* the Emperour (whoſe great deſign was to reduce all men, but eſpecially his Army back to Paganiſm and Idolatry) made uſe of this crafty project; he placed the Pictures of *Jupiter*, and other Heathen gods, ſo cloſe to his own *Statues*, that they could not bow to the one, but they muſt alſo to the other; politickly reducing them to this ſtrait, that either they muſt refuſe to pay civil honour to their Prince (which had been a ſufficient crime againſt them) or ſeem at leaſt to do *honour* to the gods; with this device the leſs *wary* and cautelous

Naz. Orat. invect. 1. in Julian. Or. 13. p. 83. vid. Sozem. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 5. c. 17.

telous were entrapped; but others that were more pious and prudent chose rather to deny the Prince that civil homage, and fall into the arms of martyrdom, than by such an ambiguous adoration to seem to patronize Idolatry. At another time he fell upon this stratagem: upon a solemn day, when the Emperors were wont to bestow *Largesses* upon the *Souldiers*, he caused the Army to be called before him, sitting then in great pomp and splendour, and a large *donative* of Gold to be laid on the one side, and a heap of *Frankincense* with fire by it on the other, proclamation being made, that they that would sacrifice the *one* should have the *other*. By this means many of the Christian Souldiers were ensnared, performed the Sacrifice, received the Donative, aud went home jolly and secure. But being at Dinner with their Companions, and drinking to each other (as the custom was) with their eyes lift up, and calling upon *Christ*, and making the *Sign of the Cross*, as oft as they took the Cup into their hands; one at the Table told them, he wondred how they could call upon *Christ*, whom they had so lately abjur'd. Amazed at this, and asking how

Part 1.

Nat. ib. p. 84.

Part 1. they had abjured him, they were told, that they had *ſacrificed*, which was all one as to *deny Chriſt*. Whereupon ſtarting up from the Table, they ran up and down the Market-place in a furious and frantick manner, crying out, *we are Chriſtians, we are Chriſtians in heart and truth*; and let all the world take notice, that there is but *one* God, to whom we *live*, and for whom we'll *dye*; we have not broken the faith which we ſwore to thee, *O bleſſed Saviour*, nor renounced our profeſſion; if our *hands* be guilty, our *hearts* are innocent, 'tis not the *Gold* that has corrupted us, but the Emperours *craftineſs* that deceived us: and with that running to the Emperour, they threw down their *Gold* before him, with this addreſs, we have not, *Sir*, received a donative, but are condemned to dye; inſtead of being *honoured* we are *vilified* and diſgraced; take this Largeſs and give it to your Souldiers; as for us, kill us and ſacrifice us to *Chriſt*, whom alone we owne as our higheſt Prince; return us *fire* for *fire*, and for the *aſhes* of the ſacrifice, reduce us to *aſhes*. Cut off thoſe *hands*, which we ſo wickedly ſtretched out; thoſe *feet* that carried us to ſo great a miſchief; give others the *Gold*,

old, who may have no cause to repent Part 1.
n't; for our part *Christ* is enough for
s, whom we value instead of all things.
With this noble and generous resoluti-
n though the Emperour was highly en-
ged, yet because he envied them the
onour of *martyrdom*, he would not
t them to death, but banished them,
nd inflicted other penalties which might
fficiently evidence his rage against
em.

Nay with so warm a zeal were they
ed against Idolatry, that many of
em could not contain themselves from
ling foul upon it, where ever they
t it, though with the immediate ha-
d of their lives. So *Romanus* Dea- *Euseb. de*
n and Exorcist of the Church of *Cæsa-* *mart. Pal.*
ea seeing great multitudes of people at *c. 2. p. 320.*
ioch flocking to the Temples, and
ng sacrifice to the gods, came to
m, and began very severely to re-
ve and reproach them; for which
g apprehended, after many strange
cruel usages he was put to death,
h all imaginable pain and torture.
us *Apphianus* a young man, when
Cryers by proclamation summoned
the Inhabitants of *Cæsaria* to sacrifice
he gods, the *Tribunes* particularly

Part. 1. reciting every mans name out of a Book, to the great terrour of all that were Christians, privately and unknown to us (says *Eusebius*, who lived at that time in the same house with him) stole out, and getting near *Urbanus* the *President* (who was then compassed about with a *Guard* of Souldiers) just as he was about to offer Sacrifice, caught hold of his right hand, which he grasped so fast, that he forced him to let fall the Sacrifice, gravely admonishing him to desist from such errours and vanities: Clearly shewing (says the *Historian*) that true *Christians* are so far from being drawn from the Worship of the true God, that by threatnings and torments they are rather heightened into a greater and more ingenuous freedom and boldness in the profession of the Truth: for this fact the young man was almost torn in pieces by the Souldiers, whose rage and fierceness could scarce suffer him to be repriev'd for acuter tortures, which were exercised towards him with all possible cruelty; and when all could do no good upon him, he was thrown half dead into the Sea. The like we read of three famous Christians at *Merum* a City in *Phrygia*, where when the Governour

Ib. c. 4. p. 324.

Socrat. H. Eccles. l. 3. c. 15. p. 186.

vernour of the *Province* under *Julian* the *Apostate* had commanded the Heathen Temple to be opened, they got by night into the Temple, and broke to pieces all the *Statues* and *Images* of the gods. Whereupon when a general persecution was like to arise against all the Christians of the City, that the *ignorant* and *innocent* might not suffer, the Authors of the fact came of their own accord to the Judge, and confessed it; who offered them pardon if they would sacrifice, which they rejected with disdain, and told him they were much readier to endure any torments and death it self, than to be defiled with sacrificing: and accordingly were first treated with all sorts of torments, and then burnt upon an *Iron Grate*; retaining their courage to the last, and took their leave of the Governour with this *sarcasm*, *If thou hast a mind*, Amachius, *to eat rost meat, turn us on the other side, lest we be but half rosted, and so prove ungrateful to thy taste.* So mightily did a restless passion for the divine honour possess the minds of those primitive Christians: and though 'tis true such transports of zeal are not ordinarily warrantable (for which reason the Council of *Illiberis* justly prohibited Can. 60. p. 72. Part 1.

Part 1. hibited those who were killed in the defacing and demolishing Idols, to be reckoned in the number of *Martyrs*) yet do they sufficiently shew what a spirit of eagerness and activity ruled in those times against the false Religions of the world.

By all this we may see how unjustly the Christians were traduced and accused for *Idolaters*; three things were commonly charged upon them, that they worshipped the *Sun*, the *Cross*, and an *Asses head*. For the first, their worshipping the *Sun*, *Tertullian* answers, that the mistake arose from a double cause, partly that the Christians of those times did generally pray towards the *East* and the *Sun-rising*, which the Heathens themselves also did, though upon different grounds: and partly because they performed the Solemnities of their Religion upon the *day* that was dedicated to the *Sun*, which made the Gentiles suspect that they worshipped the *Sun* it self. They were next charged with worshipping *Crosses*; a charge directly false; as for Crosses (says *Octavius*) we neither *desire*, nor *worship* them, 'tis you who consecrate wooden goods, that perhaps adore wooden Crosses as parts of them; for what else are your

Apol. c. 16. p. 16.

Minu Fel. p. 24.

your *Enſigns*, *Banners*, and *Colours*, with which you go out to war, but *golden* and *painted Croſſes*; the very *Trophies* of your Victory do not only reſemble the faſhion of a ſimple Croſs, but of a man that's faſtned to it; the very ſame anſwer which *Tertullian* alſo returns to this Charge. The occaſion of it no doubt was, the Chriſtians talking of, and magnifying ſo much their *crucified* Maſter, and their almoſt conſtant uſe of the *ſign* of the *Croſs*, which (as we ſhall ſee afterwards) they made uſe of even in the moſt common actions of their lives; but for paying any adoration to a *material* Croſs, was a thing to which thoſe times were the greateſt ſtrangers; otherwiſe underſtanding the Croſs for him that hung upon it, they were not aſhamed with the great Apoſtle, *to glory in the Croſs of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, and to count it the matter of their higheſt joy and triumph. But the abſurdeſt part of the Charge was, that they worſhipped the *head of an Aſs*. I hear (ſays the Heathen in *Minucius Fælix*) that being ſeduced by I know not what fond perſwaſion they worſhip the *conſecrated* head of an Aſs, one of the filthieſt Creatures; a *Religion* fitly calculated for

Part 1.

Loc. ſupra citat.

Pag. 8.

Part 1. persons of such a *dull* and *stupid* disposition. Hence *Tertullian* tells us, that
Ibid. Christians were called *Asinarii*, Asswor-
Vid. ad Nation. l. 1. c. 14. p. 50. shippers, and that *Christ* was painted, and publickly exposed by the bold wicked hand of an apostate *Jew*, with *Asses ears*, one of his *feet hoof'd*, holding a *Book* in his *hand*, and having a *Gown* over him, with this Inscription

Ononychites.

DEVS CHRISTIANORVM
ONONYCHITES

De variis hujus vocis lectionib. vid. Rigalt. in loc. & Voss. de idol. l. 3. c. 75. p. 565. *The Asse-hoof'd God of the Christians.* A most ridiculous representation, and the issue of the most foolish spite and malice: when I saw it (*says he*) I laughed both at the *title* and the *fashion*. This
Pag. 23. *Octavius* tells his Adversary was the result and spawn of lying fame, begot and nourished by the Father of lyes: for who (says he) can be so silly as to worship this? or who can be so much more silly as to believe that it should be worshipped? unless it be that you your selves do consecrate whole Asses in the Stable with your Goddess *Epona*, and religiously adorn them in the Solemnities of *Isis*, and both sacrifice and adore the heads of Rams and Oxen: you make gods of a mixture of a *Goat* and a *Man*, and dedicate them with the faces of

Dogs

Dogs and *Lions*. More he has there to the ſame purpoſe, as *Tertullian* alſo had anſwered the ſame thing before him. The true ground of this ridiculous Charge, as *Tertullian* obſerves, was a fabulous report that had been a long time common amongſt the Heathens, that the *Jews* when wandring in the wilderneſs, and almoſt ready to dye of thirſt, were conducted by wild Aſſes to a Fountain of water, for which great kindneſs they formed the ſhape of an Aſs, and ever after worſhipped it with divine honours; this is confidently reported both by *Tacitus* and *Plutarch*, as it had been many years before by *Appio* the *Alexandrian* in his Books againſt the *Jews*, and by this means the Heathens, who did frequently confound the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, came to form and faſten this Charge upon them; when it was equally falſe in reſpect of both: for as *Tertullian* obſerves, the ſame *Tacitus* who reports this, tells us in another place, that when *Pompey* at the taking of *Jeruſalem* preſumptuouſly broke into the *Holy of Holies*, whither none but the *High-Prieſt* might enter, out of a curioſity to pry into the moſt hidden ſecrets and *arcana's* of their Religion, he found no Image

Part 1.

vid. etiam ad Nation. l. 1. c. 11. p. 49.

Tacit. Hiſt. l. 5. c. 4. Plut. ſymp. lib. 4. Queſt. 5. p. 670.

Apol. c. 16.

Part 1. Image at all there; whereas (ſays *Tertullian*) had they worſhipped any ſuch thing, there had been no likelier place to have met with it, and therefore brands him with the charge of *the moſt lying Hiſtorian in the world.* And thus we ſee how the ancient Chriſtians manifeſted and maintained their love and piety towards God, by a moſt vigorous and hearty oppoſition of that Idolatry that reigned ſo uncontroulably in the Heathen world.

CHAP. VI.

Of Churches, and places of Publick Worſhip in the primitive times.

Place a circumſtance neceſſary to every action. The piety of Chriſtians in founding places for the Solemnities of Religion. They had diſtinct and ſeparate places for their Publick Aſſemblies, even in the Apoſtles times. Prov'd out of the New Teſtament, as alſo in the ſucceeding Ages, from the teſtimonies of the Fathers, and Heathen Writers. The common objection of

of the Gentiles, that Christians had no Temples, considered and answered. Churches encreased as Christianity met with favourable entertainment: restored and repaired by Diocletian, Maximinus, Constantine. *The fashion of their Churches oblong; built towards the East: The form of their Churches described. The* Vestibulum *or Porch: the Narthex, and what in it. The Nave or body of the Church; the Ambo or Reading-Pew, the station of the faithful. The* ἱερατεῖον *or Chancel; the* Altarium *or Lords Table. The Bishops Throne and Seats of the Presbyters. The* Diaconicon, *what: the* Prothesis. *Christians then beautified their Churches. Whether they had Altars in them. Decent Tables for the celebration of the divine offices; those frequently by the Fathers stiled Altars, and in what sense. They had no such gaudy Altars as the Heathens had in their Temples, and the Papists now in their Churches. Altars when begun to be fixed and made of Stone. Made* Asylum's *and places of refuge, and invested with many priviledges by Christian Emperours. No Images in their Churches for above four hundred years, prov'd out of the Fathers. Pictures in* Part 1.

Churches

Part 1. *Churches condemned by the Council of* Illiberis. *An account of* Epiphanius *his tearing the Picture of Christ in the Church of* Anablatha; *and the great force of the argument thence against Image-Worship. Christian Churches when first formally consecrated: the Encænia of the ancient Church. Our Wakes or Feasts in memory of the dedication of particular Churches. What Incomes or Revenues they had in the first Ages. Particular Churches had some standing Revenues even under the Heathen Emperours. These much increased by the piety of* Constantine *and the first Christian Princes, their Laws noted to that purpose. The reverence shewed at their going into Churches, and during their stay there, even by the Emperours themselves.*

THE Primitive Christians were not more heartily zealous against the idolatrous Worship of the Heathen-gods, than they were religiously observant of whatever concerned the honour and Worship of the true, as to all the material parts and circumstances of it; as will easily appear, if we consider what care they had about the *place, time, persons,*

persons, and both the *matter* and *manner* of that Worship that they performed to God, under each of which we shall take notice of what is most considerable, and does most properly relate to it, so far as the Records of those times give us an account of it. Part 1.

Place is an inseparable circumstance of Religious Worship; for every body by the natural necessity of its being requires some determinate place either for rest or motion: now the Worship of God being in a great part an external action, especially when performed by the joint concurrence of several persons, does not only necessarily require a *place*, but a place *conveniently capacious* of all that join together in the same publick actions of Religion. This reason put all Nations even by the light of Nature upon erecting *publick places* for the honour of their gods, and for their own conveniency in meeting together to pay their religious services and devotions. But my present enquiry reaches no farther than the *Primitive Christians*, not whether they met together for the discharge of their common duties; (which I suppose none can doubt of) but whether they had *Churches*, fixed and appropriate

Part 1. ate places for the joint performance of their publick offices: and that they had even in those early times, will I think be beyond all dispute, if we take but a short survey of those first Ages of Christianity: in the sacred Story we find some more than probable footsteps of some determinate places for their solemn conventions, and peculiar only to that use. Of this nature was that ὑπερῶον, or
Act. 1. 13. *Upper Room* into which the *Apostles* and Disciples, after their return from the ascension of our Saviour, went up, as into a place commonly known and separate to that use, there by fasting and prayer to make choice of a new Apostle; and this supposed by a very ancient tradition to have been the *same room* wherein our Saviour the night before his death celebrated the Passover with his Disciples, and instituted the *Lords Supper*. Such a one, if not (which I rather
Act. 2. 1. think) the same, was that *one place*, wherein they were all assembled with once accord upon the day of *Pentecost*, when the Holy Ghost visibly came down upon them; and this the rather because the multitude (and they too *strangers of every Nation under heaven*) came so readily to the place upon the first rumour of

of ſo ſtrange an accident, which could hardly have been, had it not been commonly known to be the place where the Chriſtians uſed to meet together: and this very learned men take to be the meaning of that *Act.* 2. 46. *they continued daily with one accord in the Temple, and breaking bread* κατ' οἶκον, not as we render it, *from houſe to houſe, but at home*, as 'tis in the *margin*, or *in the houſe, they ate their meat with gladneſs and ſingleneſs of heart, i.e.* when they had performed their daily devotions at the *Temple* at the accuſtomed hours of prayer, they uſed to return home to this *Upper Room*, there to celebrate the holy *Euchariſt*, and then go to their ordinary meals: this ſeems to be a clear and unforc'd interpretation; and to me the more probable, becauſe it immediately follows upon their aſſembling together in that one place at the day of *Pentecoſt*, which Room is alſo called by the ſame name of *houſe*, at the *ſecond Verſe* of that *Chapter*; and 'tis no ways unlikely (as Mr. *Mede* conjectures) but that when the firſt Believers *ſold their Houſes and Lands, and laid the money at the Apoſtles feet* to ſupply the neceſſities of the Church, ſome of them might give their houſes (at leaſt ſome Part 1.

Part 1. ſome eminent Room in them) for the Church to meet, and perform their ſacred duties: which alſo may be the reaſon why the Apoſtles writing to particular Chriſtians, ſpeaks ſo often of *the Church that was in their houſe*; which ſeems clearly to intimate not ſo much the particular perſons of any private Family living together under the ſame band of Chriſtian diſcipline, as that in ſuch or ſuch a houſe (and more eſpecially in this or that room of it) there was the conſtant and ſolemn convention of the Chriſtians of that place, for their joint celebration of divine Worſhip: and this will be farther cleared by that famous paſſage of S. *Paul*, where taxing the *Corinthians* for their irreverence and abuſe of the *Lords Supper*, one greedily eating before another, and ſome of them to great exceſs, *What* (ſays he) *have you not houſes to eat and to drink in, or deſpiſe ye the Church of God.* Where that by *Church* is not meant the *Aſſembly* meeting, but the *place* in which they uſed to aſſemble, is evident partly from what went before, for *their coming together in the Church*, *verſe* 18. is expounded *by their coming together into one place*, *verſe* 20. plainly arguing that the Apoſtle meant not the perſons

1 *Cor.* 11. 22.

persons but the place; partly from the opposition which he makes between the Church and their own private houses; if they must have such irregular Banquets, they had houses of their own, where 'twas much fitter to do it, and to have their ordinary repast, than in that *place* which was set apart for the common exercises of Religion, and therefore ought not to be dishonoured by such extravagant and intemperate feastings; for which cause he enjoins them in the *close* of that *Chapter*, that *if any man hunger he should eat at home.* And that this place was always thus understood by the Fathers of old, were no hard matter to make out, as also by most learned men of later times, of which it shall suffice to intimate two of our own, men of great name and learning, who have done it to great satisfaction. Part 1. *Nic. Full. miscell. S. l. 2. c. 9. Mr. Mede p. 405.*

Thus stood the case during the *Apostles* times; for the Ages after them we find that the Christians had their fixed and definite places of Worship; especially in the second *Century*, as had we no other evidence, might be made good from the testimony of the Authour of that *Dialogue in Lucian* (if not *Lucian* himself, of which I see no great cause *Philopatr. tom. 2. p. 1007.*

Part 1. to doubt) who lived under the Reign of *Trajan*, and who expreſly mentions that *Houſe* or *Room* wherein the Chriſtians were wont to aſſemble together. *Pag.* 52. And *Clemens* in his famous Epiſtle to the *Corinthians* aſſures us, that *Chriſt* did not only appoint the times *when*, the perſons by *whom*, but the places *where* he would be ſolemnly ſerved and wor- *Ap.* 2. *p.* 98. ſhipped: And *Juſtin Martyr* expreſly affirms, that upon *Sunday* all Chriſtians whether in Town or Country, uſed to aſſemble together in *one place*, which could hardly be done, had not that place been fixed and ſetled: the ſame we find *De idolola. c.* 7. *p.* 88. afterwards in ſeveral places of *Tertullian*, *Adv. Valentin. c.* 3. *p.* 251. who ſpeaks of their coming into the Church and the Houſe of God, which he elſewhere calls the *Houſe of our Dove*, *i. e.* our innocent and Dove-like Religion, and there deſcribes the very form and faſhion of it; and in another place *De Coron. Mil. c.* 3. *p.* 101. ſpeaking of their going into the water to be baptized, he tells us they were wont firſt to go into the Church to make their ſolemn renunciation before the Biſhop. About this time in the Reign of *Alexander Severus* the Emperour (who began his Reign about the year 222.) the Heathen Hiſtorian tells us, that when

when there was a conteſt between the *Chriſtians* and the *Vintners* about a certain publick place, which the Chriſtians had ſeiz'd and challenged for theirs, the Emperour gave the cauſe for the Chriſtians againſt the Vintners, ſaying 'twas much better that God ſhould be worſhipped there any ways, than that the *Vintners* ſhould poſſeſs it. If it ſhall be ſaid that the Heathens of thoſe times generally accuſed the Chriſtians for having no Temples, and charged it upon them as a piece of *atheiſm and impiety*, and that the Chriſtian *Apologiſts* did not deny it, as will appear to any that will take the pains to examine the places alledged in the margin; to this the anſwer in ſhort depends upon the *notion* which they had of a Temple, by which the Gentiles underſtood the places devoted to their gods, and wherein their Deities were incloſed and ſhut up, places adorned with Statues and Images, with fine Altars and ornaments; and for ſuch Temples as theſe they freely confeſſed they had none, no nor ought to have, for that the true God did not (as the Heathens ſuppoſed theirs) *dwell in Temples made with hands*, nor either needed nor could poſſibly be honoured

Part 1.

Lamprid. in vit. Alex. Sever. c. 49. p. 575.

Min. Fæl. p. 8.--26. Arnob. adv. gent. l. 6. p. 83. Lact. de Orig. error. l. 2. c. 2. p. 141.

Part 1. by them: and therefore they purposely abstained from the word *Temple*, and I do not remember that 'tis used by any Christian Writer for the place of the Christian Assemblies, for the best part of the first three hundred years: and yet those very Writers who deny Christians to have had any Temples, do at the same time acknowledge, that they had their meeting places for divine Worship, their *conventicula* as *Arnobius* calls them, and complains they were furiously demolished by their Enemies. If any desires to know more concerning this, as also that Christians had appropriate places of Worship for the greatest part of the three first Centuries, let him read a Discourse purposely written upon this subject, by a *most learned man* of our own Nation, nor indeed should I have said so much as I have about it, but that I had noted most of these things, before I read his Discourse upon that subject.

Lib. 4. *p.* 67.

Mr. Jos. Mede discourse concerning Churches. oper part. 1. *lib.* 2.

Afterwards their Churches began to rise apace, according as they met with more quiet and favourable times; especially under *Valerian*, *Gallienus*, *Claudius*, *Aurelian*, and some other Emperours: of which times *Eusebius* tells us, that the

*Hist. Eccl. l.*8 *c.*1. *p.*292.

the *Biſhops* met with the higheſt reſpect and kindneſs both from people and Governours; and adds, but who ſhall be able to reckon up the innumerable multitudes that daily flocked to the Faith of *Chriſt*, the number of Congregations in every *City*, thoſe famous meetings of theirs in their *Oratories* or ſacred places, ſo great, that not being content with thoſe old Buildings which they had before, they erected from the very foundations more fair and ſpacious Churches in every City. This was ſeveral years before the times of *Conſtantine*, and yet even then they had their Churches of *ancient date*. This indeed was a very ſerene and Sunſhiny ſeaſon, but alas it begun to darken again, and *the clouds returned after rain*; for in the very next Chapter he tells us that in the Reign of *Diocleſian*, there came out Imperial Edicts, commanding all Chriſtians to be perſecuted, the Biſhops to be impriſoned, the holy Bible to be burnt, and their Churches to be demoliſhed and laid level with the ground: which how many they were, may be gueſſed at by this, that (as *Optatus* tells us) there were about this time above forty *Baſilicæ* or Churches in *Rome* only. Upon *Conſtantines* coming

Part 1.

De Schiſm. Donat. l. 2. p. 40.

Part 1. into a partnership of the Empire, the Clouds began to disperse and scatter, and *Maximinus* (who then govern'd the *Eastern* parts of the Empire) a bitter Enemy to Christians, was yet forced by a publick Edict to give Christians the free liberty of their Religion, and leave to repair and rebuild τὰ χυειακὰ τὰ ὀικῶα, their Churches; which shortly after they every where set upon, raising their Churches from the ground to a vast height, and to a far greater splendour and glory than those which they had before, the Emperours giving all possible encouragement to it by frequent Laws and Constitutions: the Christians also themselves contributing towards it with the greatest chearfulness and liberality, even to a magnificence, comparable to that of the *Jewish* Princes towards the building of *Solomons Temple*, as *Eusebius* tells them in his *Oration* at the dedication of the famous Church at *Tyre*: and no sooner was the whole Empire devolved upon *Constantine*, but he published two Laws, one to prohibit *Pagan Worship*, the other commanding *Churches* to be built of a nobler size and capacity than before; to which purpose he directed his Letters to *Eusebius* and the

Euseb. l. 9. c. 10 p. 364

Id. lib. 10. c. 2. p. 370.

Ib. c. 4. p. 377.

Devit. Constant. l. 2. c. 45. 46. p. 464.

the rest of the Bishops to see it done within their several jurisdictions, charging also the Governours of Provinces to be assisting to them, and to furnish them with whatever was necessary and convenient: insomuch that in a short time the world was beautified with Churches and sacred Oratories, both in Cities and Villages, and in the most barbarous and desart places, called κυριακὰ, says the *Historian* (from whence our *Kirk* and *Church*) the *Lords Houses*, because erected not to men, but to the honour of our *Lord* and *Saviour*. 'Twere needless to insist any longer upon the piety of Christians in building Churches in and after the times of *Constantine*, the instances being so vastly numerous; only I cannot omit what *Nazianzen* reports of his own Father, who though Bishop of a very *small* and inconsiderable Diocess, yet built a famous *Church* almost wholly at his own charge. Part 1. *Orat. de laud. Const. c. 17. p. 660* *Or. funebr. in laud. Patr. Or. 19. p. 313.*

Thus we have seen that from the very infancy of the Gospel, the Christians always had their setled and determinate places of divine Worship; for the *form* and fashion of their Churches it was for the most part *oblong*, to keep (say some) the better correspondence with *Constit. Apost. l. 2. c. 57. p. 875.*

Part 1. with the fashion of a *Ship*, the common notion and metaphor by which the Church was wont to be represented, and to put us in mind that we are tossed up and down in this world, as upon a stormy and tempestuous *Sea*, and that out of the Church there's no safe passage to Heaven, the Country we all hope to arrive at. They were generally built *towards the East* (towards which also they performed the more solemn parts of their Worship, the reasons whereof we shall see afterwards in its due place) following herein the Custom of the Gentiles, though upon far other grounds than they did, and this seems to have obtained from the first Ages of Christianity; sure I am 'twas so in *Tertullian's* time, who opposing the plain and simple way of the *Orthodox* Assemblies to the *skulking and clanculare* Conventicles of the Hereticks, who *Serpent-like* crept about in holes and corners; says he, *the house of our Dove-like Religion is simple, built on high and in open view, and respects the light as the figure of the Holy Spirit, and the East as the representation of Christ.* It cannot be thought that in the first Ages, while the flames of persecution raged about their ears, the Christian

Adv. Valentin. p. 251.

ſtian Churches ſhould be very ſtately and magnificent, but ſuch as the condition of thoſe times would bear, their ſplendour encreaſing according to the entertainment that Chriſtianity met withal in the world, till the Empire becoming Chriſtian, their Temples roſe up into *grandeur* and *gallantry*, as amongſt others may appear by the particular deſcription which *Euſebius* makes of the Church at *Tyre*, mentioned before, and that which *Conſtantine* built at *Conſtantinople* in honour of the Apoſtles, both which were incomparably ſumptuous and magnificent. Part 1. *De vit. Conſt. l. 4. c. 58. 59. p. 555.*

I ſhall not undertake to deſcribe at large the exact form, and the ſeveral parts and dimenſions of their Churches (which varied ſomewhat according to different times and Ages) but briefly reflect upon ſuch as were moſt common and remarkable: at the entrance of their Churches (eſpecially after they began to arrive at more perfection) was the *Veſtibulum* (called alſo *Atrium* and *προναὸν*) the *Porch*, in greater Churches of ſomewhat larger capacity, adorned many times with goodly *Portico's*, marble Columns, Fountains, and Ciſterns of water, and covered over for the conveniency of thoſe

Part 1. those that stood or walked there. Here stood the lowest order of *Penitents*, begging the prayers of the faithful as they went in. For the Church it self, it usually consisted of three parts; the first was the *Narthex* (which we have no proper word to render by) it was that part of the Church that lay next to the great door by which they entred in: in the first part of it stood the *Catechumens*, or first learners of Christianity, in the middle the *Euergumeni*, or those who were *possessed* by *Satan*, and in this part also stood the *Font*, or place of *baptismal* initiation; and towards the upper end was the place of the *Hearers*, who were one of the rancks of *Penitents*. The second part contained the middle, or main body of the Church (called by the *Greeks* Νάος, by the *Latins Navis*, from whence our term the *Nave* of the Church comes) where the *faithful* assembled for the celebration of Divine Service, where the men and the women had their distinct *apartments*, lest at such times unchast and irregular appetites should be kindled by a promiscuous interfering with one another; of which pious and excellent contrivance mention is made in an ancient Funeral *Inscription* found in the *Vatican Cæmitery*

Const. Apost. l. 2. c. 57. p. 875.

Roma subterran. l. 2. c. 10. Num. 23. p. 204.

Cæmitry at *Rome*; ſuch a one buried, Part 1.
SINISTRA PARTE VIRORVM, on that *ſide* of the Church where the *men ſat*. In this part of the Church next to the entring into it ſtood the Claſs of the *Penitents*, who were called προσκλαυσιες, becauſe at their going out they fell down upon their knees before the Biſhop, who laid his hands upon them. Next to them was the *Ambo*, the *Pulpit* or rather *reading-desk*, whence the Scriptures were read and preached to the people. Above that were the *Faithful*, the higheſt rank and order of the people, and who alone communicated at the Lords Table. The third part was the βῆμα, or ἱερατεῖον, ſeparated from the reſt of the Church by neat *Rails*, called *Cancels*, whence our *Engliſh* word *Chancel*, to denote the part of the Church to this day: into this part none might come but ſuch as were in holy *orders*, unleſs it were the *Greek Emperours*, who were allowed to come up to the Table to make their *Offerings*, and ſo back again; within this diviſion the moſt conſiderable thing was the θυσιαστηριον, the *Altar* (as they metaphorically called it, becauſe there they offered the *commemorative Sacrifice* of Chriſts Body and Blood)

or

Part 1. or the *Communion Table* (ἡ Ἁγία τράπεζα as 'tis frequently ſtyled by the *Greek* Fathers) behind which at the very upper end of the Chancel was the *Chair* or *Throne* of the Biſhop (for ſo was it almoſt conſtantly called) on both ſides whereof were the σύνθρονοι, the *Seats* of the *Presbyters* (for the *Deacons* might not here ſit down:) the Biſhops Throne was raiſed up ſomewhat higher from the ground, and from hence I ſuppoſe it was that he uſually delivered his Sermons to the people: therefore *Socrates* ſeems to note it as a *new* thing in *Chryſoſtom*, that when he preached, he went to ſit ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄμβωνος *upon the Pulpit* (he means that in the body of the Church, for ſo *Sozomon* tells us that he ſat in the *Reading Desk* in the middle of the Church) that by reaſon of his low voice he might be better heard of the people. Adjoining to the Chancel on the *North-ſide*, probably, was the *Diaconicon*, mentioned both in the *Laodicean* Council (though I know both *Zonaras* and *Balſamon*, and after them the learned *Leo Allatius* will have another thing to be meant in the place) as alſo in a Law of *Arcadius* and *Honorius* againſt *Hereticks*, and probably ſo called either becauſe

Hiſt. Eccl. l. 6. c. 5. p. 304.

Lib. 8. c. 5. p. 764.

Can. 21. De Templ. Græc. Num. 14. p. 25. C. Th. Lib. 16. Tit. 5. l. 29. ubi vid. Jac. Gothofr. Com.

becauſe peculiarly committed to the *Deacon* of the place, or as the great Commentator upon that Law will have it, becauſe ſet apart τῇ ἱερᾷ διακονίᾳ, to ſome ſacred *ſervices*. It was in the nature of our modern *Veſtries*, the *Sacriſty*, wherein the Plate, Veſſels, and Veſtments belonging to the Church, and other things dedicated to holy uſes, were laid up, and where in after times *Reliques* and ſuch like Fopperies were treaſured up with great care and diligence. On the other ſide of the Chancel was the *Protheſis*, or place where things were prepared in order to the Sacrament, where the Offerings were laid, and what remained of the Sacramental Elements, till they were decently diſpoſed of. And this may ſerve for a ſhort view of the Churches of thoſe firſt times, after they began to grow up into ſome beauty and perfection. Part 1.

But though the Chriſtians of thoſe times ſpared no convenient *coſt* in founding and adorning publick places for the Worſhip of God, yet were they careful to keep a decent mean between a ſordid *ſlovenlineſs*, and a too curious and over nice *ſuperſtition*. In the more early times, even while the fury and fierceneſs

Part 1. fierceneſs of their Enemies kept them low and mean, yet they *beautified* their Oratories and places of Worſhip; eſpecially if we may believe the *Authour* of the Dialogue in *Lucian* (whom we mentioned before, and who lived within the firſt Age) who bringing in one *Critias* that was perſwaded by the Chriſtians, to go to the place of their Aſſembly (which by his deſcription ſeems to have been an ὑπερῷον, or *Upper-Room*) tells us that after they had gone up ſeveral ſtairs, they came at laſt into an *Houſe or Room that was overlaid with Gold*, where he beheld nothing but a company of perſons with their bodies bow'd down, and pale faces. I know the deſign of that Dialogue in part is to abuſe and deride the Chriſtians, but there's no reaſon to ſuppoſe he feigned thoſe circumſtances which made nothing to his purpoſe. As the times grew better, they added more and greater ornaments to them; concerning two whereof there has been ſome conteſt in the Chriſtian world, *Altars* and *Images*. As for *Altars*, the firſt Chriſtians had no other in their Churches than *decent Tables* of wood, upon which they celebrated the holy *Euchariſt*; theſe 'tis true in alluſion

to

to those in the *Jewish* Temple, the Fathers generally called *Altars*, and truly enough might do so, by reason of those *Sacrifices* they offered upon them, *viz.* the commemoration of *Christs Sacrifice* in the blessed Sacrament, the Sacrifice of *prayer and thanksgiving*, and the oblation of *Alms and Charity* for the poor (usually laid upon those Tables) which the Apostle expressly styles *a Sacrifice*. These were the only *Sacrifices* (for no other had the Christian world for many hundreds of years) which they then offered upon their *Altars*, which were much of the same kind with our *Communion-Tables* at this day. For that they had not any such *fixed and gaudy* Altars (as the *Heathens* then had in their *Temples*, and *Papists* still have in their *Churches*) is most evident, because the Heathens at every turn did charge and reproach them for having none, and the Fathers in their answers did freely and openly acknowledge and avow it; asserting and pleading that the only true *sacred Altar* was a *pure* and a *holy mind*, and that the *best* and most *acceptable* Sacrifice to God was a *pious heart*, and an *innocent* and *religious* life. *Hæc nostra sacrificia, hæc Dei sacra sunt, these* (say they) Part 1.

Vid. Clem. Alex. strom. l. 7. p. 717. Orig. adv. Cels. lib. 4. p. lib. 8. p. 383. M. Felix. p. 8.--26. Arnob. adv. gent. l. 6. p. 83. Lactant. l. 2. c. 2.

Part 1. they) *are our oblations, theſe the ſacrifices we give to God.* This was the ſtate of *Altars* in the Chriſtian Churches for near upon the firſt three hundred years; till *Conſtantine* coming in, and with him peace and plenty, the Churches began to excel in coſtlineſs and bravery every day, and then their wooden and moveable Altars began to be turned into fixed Altars of *Stone* or *Marble*, though uſed to no other purpoſe than before, and yet this too did not ſo univerſally obtain (though ſeverely urged by *Sylveſter* Biſhop of *Rome*) but that in very many places Tables or moveable Altars of wood continued in uſe a long time after, as might eaſily be made appear from ſeveral paſſages in *Athanaſius* and others, yea even to S. *Auguſtine*'s time, and probably much later, were it proper to my buſineſs to ſearch after it. No ſooner were Altars made fixed and immoveable, but they were compaſſed in with *Rails* to fence off rudeneſs and irreverence, and perſons began to regard them with mighty obſervance and reſpect; which ſoon grew ſo high, that they became *Aſylums* and refuges to protect innocent perſons and unwitting offenders from immediate violence and oppreſſion; an

Athanaſ. ad Orthodox p. 729. Tom. 1. Et Ep. ad Solit. vit. agent.

Aug. Queſt. V. & N. T. Queſ. 101. & alibi ſæpe.

an instance whereof *Nazianzen* gives us in a Christian Widow a woman of great place and quality, who flying from the importunities of the *President*, who would have forced her to marry him, had no other way but to take sanctuary at the holy Table in S. *Basils* Church at *Cæsarea*; she was demanded with many fierce and terrible threatnings, but the holy man stoutly refused, although the President was his mortal Enemy, and sought only a pretence to ruine him. Many such cases may be met with in the History of the Church: nor was this a priviledge meerly founded upon custom, but setled and ratified by the Laws of *Christian Emperours*, concerning the particular cases whereof, together with the extent and limitation of these *immunities*, there are no less than six several Laws of the Emperours *Theodosius*, *Arcadius*, and *Theodosius junior*, yet extant in the *Theodosian Code*. But how far those *Asyla's* and *Sanctuaries* were good and useful, and to what evil and pernicious purposes they were improv'd in after-times, is without the limits of my present task to enquire.

Part 1.

Orat. 20. in laud. Basil. 353.

Lib. 9 Tit. 45. de his qui ad Ecclesias confugiunt.

But if in those times there was so little ground for *Altars* (as us'd in the

Part 1. present sense of the *Church* of *Rome*) there was yet far less for *Images*; and certainly might things be carried by a fair and impartial tryal of Antiquity, the dispute would soon be at an end; there not being any one just and good authority to prove that *Images* were either *worshipped*, or *us'd* in Churches, for near upon four hundred years after *Christ*; and I doubt not but it might be carried much farther, but that my business lyes mainly within those first Ages of Christianity. Nothing can be more clear than that the Christians were frequently challenged by the Heathens, as for having no *Altars* and *Temples*, so that they had no *Images* or *Statues* in them, and that the Christian *Apologists* never denied it, but industriously defended themselves against the charge, and rejected the very thoughts of any such thing with contempt and scorn, as might be abundantly made good from *Tertullian*, *Clem. Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, *Minucius Fælix*, *Arnobius*, and *Lactantius*, many of whose testimonies have been formerly pointed to. Amongst other things *Origen* plainly tells his Adversary (who had objected this to the Christians) that the Images that were to be dedicated

Lib. 8. p. 389.

dedicated to God were not to be carved by the hand of *Artists*, but to be formed and fashioned in us by the *Word of God*, *viz.* the *virtues* of justice and temperance, of wisdom and piety, *&c.* that conform us to the Image of his only Son: *These* (says he) *are the only Statues formed in our minds, and by which alone we are perswaded 'tis fit to do honour to him who is the Image of the invisible God, the prototype and architypal pattern of all such Images.* Had Christians then given adoration to them, or but set them up in their places of Worship, with what face can we suppose they should have told the world, that they so much slighted and abhorred them; and indeed what a hearty detestation they universally shew'd to any thing that had but the least shadow of Idolatry has been before prov'd at large. The Council of *Illiberis* that was held in *Spain* some time before *Constantine* expresly provided against it, decreeing that *no Pictures ought to be in the Church, nor that any thing thus worshipped and adored should be painted upon the walls*: words so clear and positive, as not to be evaded by all the little shifts and glosses which the Expositors

Part 1.

Can. 36. *p.* 50.

Part 1. of that *Canon* would put upon it. The firſt uſe of Statues and Pictures in publick Churches was meerly *hiſtorical*, or to add ſome beauty and ornament to the place, which after Ages improved into Superſtition and Idolatry. The firſt that we meet with upon good authority (for all the inſtances brought for the firſt Ages are either falſe and ſpurious, or impertinent and to no purpoſe) is no elder than the times of *Epiphanius*, and then too met with no very welcome entertainment, as may appear from *Epiphanius* his own Epiſtle tranſlated by S. *Hierom*; where the ſtory in ſhort is this. Coming (*ſays he*) to *Anablatha* a Village in *Paleſtine*, and going into a *Church* to pray, I eſpied a *Curtain* hanging over the door, whereon was painted the *Image of Chriſt* or of ſome *Saint*; which when I looked upon, and ſaw the Image of a man hanging up in the Church, *contrary to the authority of the Holy Scriptures*, I preſently rent it, and advis'd the Guardians of the Church rather to make uſe of it as a Winding-ſheet for ſome poor mans burying: whereat when they were a little troubled, and ſaid 'twas but juſt, that ſince I had rent that Curtain, I ſhould change it, and give them another;

Inter opera Hieron. tom. 2. p. 161.

another; I promis'd then I would, and have now ſent the beſt I could get, and pray entreat them to accept it, and give command that for the time to come no ſuch Curtains, being *contrary to our Religion*, may be hung up in the Church of *Chriſt*; it more becoming your place ſolicitouſly to remove whatever is offenſive to and unworthy of the Church of *Chriſt*, and the people committed to your charge. This was written to *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, in whoſe *Dioceſs* the thing had been done, and the caſe is ſo much the more preſſing and weighty, by how the greater eſteem and value *Epiphanius* (then Biſhop of *Salamine* in *Cyprus*) for his great age and excellent learning, had in the Church of God. This inſtance is ſo home and pregnant, that the Patrons of *Image-Worſhip* are at a mighty loſs what to ſay to it, and after all are forced to cry out againſt it as *ſuppoſititious*. *Bellarmine* brings no leſs than nine arguments (if ſuch they may be called) to make it ſeem probable: but had he been ingenuous, he might have given one reaſon more true and ſatisfactory than all the reſt, why that part of the Epiſtle ſhould be thought forged and ſpurious, *viz.* *be-*

Part 1.

De Eccleſ. Triumph. l. 2 c. 9. col. 770.

Part 1. *cauſe it makes ſo much againſt them.* More might be produced to this purpoſe, but by this I hope 'tis clear enough, that the honeſt Chriſtians of thoſe times, as they thought it ſufficient to pray to God without making their addreſſes to *Saints and Angels*, ſo they accounted their Churches fine enough without *Pictures* and *Images* to adorn them.

Their Churches being built and beautified (ſo far as conſiſted with the ability and ſimplicity of thoſe days) they ſought to derive a greater value and eſteem upon them by ſome peculiar *conſecration*; for the wiſdom and piety of thoſe times thought it not enough barely to devote them to the publick ſervices of Religion, unleſs they alſo ſet them apart with ſolemn Rites of a formal *dedication*. This had been an ancient Cuſtom both amongſt *Jews* and *Gentiles*, as old as *Solomons* Temple, nay as *Moſes* and the *Tabernacle*. When 'twas firſt taken up by Chriſtians is not eaſie to determine; only I do not remember to have met with the footſteps of any ſuch thing in any approved Writer (for the *Decretal Epiſtles* every one knows what their faith is) till the Reign of *Conſtantine*:

ſtantine: in his time Christianity being become more prosperous and successful, Churches were every where erected and repaired, and no sooner were so, but (as *Euſebius* tells us) they were solemnly consecrated, and the dedications celebrated with great festivity and rejoycing; an instance whereof he there gives of the famous Church of *Tyre*, at the dedication whereof he himself made that excellent *Oration* inserted into the body of his History. About the thirtieth year of his Reign he built a stately Church at *Jeruſalem* over the *Sepulchre* of our *Saviour*, which was dedicated with singular magnificence and veneration, and for the greater honour, by his imperial Letters he summoned the Bishops, who from all parts of the *East* were then met in Council at *Tyre*, to be present and assisting at the Solemnity. The Rites and Ceremonies used at these dedications, as we find in *Euſebius*, were a great confluence of Bishops and Strangers from all parts, the performance of divine offices, singing of hymns and Psalms, reading and expounding of the Scriptures, Sermons and Orations, receiving the holy Sacrament, prayers, and thanksgivings, liberal Alms bestowed on the poor, and

Hiſt. Eccl. l 10. *c.* 3. *p.* 370.

Devit. Conſtant l. 4. *c.* 42, 43.

Part 1.

Part 1. great gifts given to the Church, and in short, mighty expressions of mutual love and kindness, and universal rejoycing with one another: what other particular Ceremonies were introduced afterwards, concerns not me to enquire, only let me note, that under some of the Christian Emperours, when *Paganism* lay gasping for life, and their Temples were purged and converted into Christian Churches, they were usually consecrated only by placing a *Cross* in them, as the venerable Ensign of the Christian Religion, as appears by the Law of *Theodosius* the younger to that purpose. The memory of the dedication of that Church at *Jerusalem* was constantly continued and kept alive in that Church, and *once a year*, to wit, on the 14. of *September*, on which day it had been dedicated, was solemnized with great pomp and much confluence of people from all parts, the Solemnity usually lasting eight days together, which doubtless gave birth to that custom of keeping *anniversary days* of commemoration of the dedication of Churches, which from this time forwards we frequently meet with in the Histories of the Church, and much prevailed in after Ages, some shadow whereof still

Cod Theod. lib. 16. Tit. 10 de pag. sacrific. & templis. leg. 25. ubi vid Com. Gothofr.

Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccl. l. 8. c. 50. p. 653.

ſtill remains amongſt us at this day, in the *Wakes* obſerved in ſeveral Counties, which in correſpondence with the *Encænia* of the ancient Church, are annual Feſtivals kept in Country Villages, in memory of the dedication of their particular Churches. Part 1.

And becauſe it was a cuſtom in ſome Ages of the Church, that no Church ſhould be *conſecrated* till it was *endowed*, it may give us occaſion to enquire what *Revenues* Churches had in thoſe firſt Ages of Chriſtianity. 'Tis more than probable that for a great while they had no other publick incomes, than either what aroſe out of thoſe common contributions which they made at their uſual Aſſemblies, every one giving or offering according to his ability or devotion, which was put into a common ſtock or treaſury, or what proceeded from the offerings which they made out of the improvement of their Lands, the *Apoſtolick Canons* providing that their Firſt-fruits ſhould be partly offered at the Church, partly ſent home to the *Biſhops* and *Presbyters:* the care of all which was committed to the *Preſident* or *Biſhop* of the Church, (for who ſays the Authour of the fore cited *Canons*, is fitter to be truſted *Can.* 3. 4. *Can.* 41.

Part 1. ed with the *riches and revenues* of the Church, than he who is intrusted with the *pretious souls* of men) and by him disposed of for the maintenance of the *Clergie*, the relief of the poor, or whatever necessities of the Church. As Christianity encreased, and times grew better, they obtained more proper and fixed revenues, houses and lands being setled upon them; for such 'tis certain they had even during the times of persecution; for so we find in a Law of *Constantine* and *Licinius*, where giving liberty of Religion to Christians, and restoring them freely to the Churches which had been taken from them, and disposed of by former Emperours; they further add; and because (*say they*) the same Christians had not only places wherein they were wont to assemble, but are also known to have had other possessions, which were not the propriety of any single person, but belonged to the *whole body and community*; all these by this Law we command to be immediately restored to those Christians, to every Society and Community of them what belonged to them. And in a rescript to *Anulinus* the *Proconsul* about the same matter, they particularly specifie, whether

Euseb. l. 10. c. 5. p. 389.

Ib. p. 390.

ther they be *Gardens* or *Houſes*, or what- Part 1.
ever elſe belonged to the right and propriety of thoſe Churches, that with all ſpeed they be univerſally reſtored to them; the ſame which *Maximinus* alſo (though no good friend to Chriſtians, yet either out of fear of *Conſtantine*, or from the conviction of his conſcience awakened by a terrible ſickneſs) had ordained for his parts of the Empire. Afterwards *Conſtantine* ſet himſelf by all ways to advance the honour and intereſts of the Church; out of the Tributes of every City which were yearly paid into his *Exchequer*, he aſſigned a portion to the Church and Clergy of that place, and ſetled it by a Law, which (excepting the ſhort Reign of *Julian* who revoked it) was as the Hiſtorian aſſures us, in force in his time. Where any of the Martyrs or Confeſſors had died without kindred, or been baniſhed their native Country, and left no *heirs* behind them, he ordained that their Eſtates and Inheritance ſhould be given to the Church of that place, and that whoever had ſeized upon them, or had bought them of the Exchequer ſhould reſtore them, and refer themſelves to him for what recompence ſhould be made them.

Lib. 9 c. 10 p. 364.

Sozom. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 8. p. 411.

Ib. lib. 5. c. 5. p. 600.

Euſeb. de vit. Conſt. l. 2. c. 36, & ſeq.

Part 1. them. He took away the restraint which former Emperours had laid upon the bounty of pious and charitable men, and gave every man liberty to leave what he would to the Church: he gave salaries out of the publick Corn, which though taken away by *Julian*, was restored by his Successor *Jovianus*, and ratified as a perpetual donation by the Law of *Valentinian* and *Marcianus*. After his time the Revenues of Churches encreased every day, pious and devout persons thinking they could never enough testifie their piety to God, by expressing their bounty and liberality to the Church.

Cod. l. 1. Tit. 2. de S.S. Eccl. leg. 1.

Ibid. leg. 12.

I shall conclude this discourse, by observing what *respect and reverence* they were wont in those days to shew in the Church, as the solemn place of Worship, and where God did more peculiarly manifest his presence: and this certainly was very great. They came into the Church, as into the *Palace* of the *great King* (as *Chrysostom* calls it) with fear and trembling, upon which account he there presses the highest modesty and gravity upon them: before their going into the Church they used to *wash* at least their hands, as *Tertullian* probably intimates,

Ep ad Hebr. in c. 9. hom. 15. tom. 10. p. 1862.

Tert. de Orat. c. 11. p. 133.

intimates, and *Chryſoſtom* expreſly tells us; carrying themſelves while there with the moſt profound ſilence and devotion; nay ſo great was the reverence which they bore to the Church, that the *Emperours* themſelves who otherwiſe never went without their Guard about them, yet when they came to go into the Church uſed to lay down their *Arms*, to leave their *Guard* behind them, and to put off their *Crowns*, reckoning that the leſs oſtentation they made of power and greatneſs there, the more firmly the imperial Majeſty would be entailed upon them, as we find it in the Law of *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian*, inſerted at large into the *Theodoſian Code*. But of this we may probably ſpeak more, when we come to treat of the manner of their publick adoration.

Part 1.

Chryſoſt: hom. 52. in math. p. 463. hom. in Joan. 72. p. 371.

Lib. 9. Tit. 45. leg. 4. vid. Chryſoſt. Orat. poſt redit. ab exil. Tom 4. p. 850.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Lords-Day, and the Faſts and Feſtivals of the ancient Church.

Time as neceſſary to religious actions as Place. Fixed times of Publick Worſhip obſerved by all Nations. The Lords Day chiefly obſerved by Chriſtians: Stiled Sunday, *and why. Peculiarly conſecrated to the memory of Chriſts Reſurrection. All kneeling at prayer on this day forbidden, and why. Their publick Aſſemblies conſtantly held upon this day. Forced to aſſemble before day in times of perſecution; thence jeered by the Heathens as* Latebroſa & Lucifugax Natio. *The Lords Day ever kept as a day of rejoycing; all faſting upon it forbidden. The great care of* Conſtantine, *and the firſt Chriſtian Emperours, for the honour and obſervance of this Day. Their Laws to that purpoſe. Their conſtant and conſcientious attendance upon publick Worſhip on the Lords Day. Canons of ancient Councils about abſenting from publick*

lick Worſhip. Sabbatum, or Saturday, kept in the Eaſt as a religious day, with all the publick Solemnities of Divine Worſhip: how it came to be ſo. Otherwiſe in the Weſtern Churches, obſerved by them as a Faſt, and why. This not univerſal. S. Ambroſe his practice at Milain, and counſel to S. Auguſtine in the caſe. Their ſolemn Faſts either Weekly or Annual; Weekly on Wedneſdays and Fridays, held till three in the Afternoon. Annual Faſt that of Lent, how ancient. Upon what account called Quadrageſima. Obſerved with great ſtrictneſs. The Hebdomeda Magna, or the Holy Week, kept with ſingular auſterity, and the reaſon of it. Feſtivals obſerved by the Primitive Chriſtians. That of Eaſter as ancient as the times of the Apoſtles. An account of the famous Controverſie between the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches, about the keeping of Eaſter. The intemperate ſpirit of Pope Victor. Irenæus his moderate interpoſal. The caſe finally determined by the Council of Nice. The Vigils of this Feaſt obſerved with great expreſſions of rejoycing. The bounty of Chriſtian Emperours upon Eaſter-day. The Feaſt of Pentecoſt how ancient. Why ſtiled Part 1.

ſtiled Whitſunday. Dominica in Albis, *why ſo called. The whole ſpace between* Eaſter *and* Whitſuntide *kept Feſtival. The Acts of the Apoſtles why publickly read during that time. The Feaſt of* Epiphany *anciently what.* Chriſtmas-day, *the ancient obſervation of it.* Epiphany *in a ſtrict ſenſe what, and why ſo called. The* Memoriæ Martyrum *what. When probably firſt begun. The great reverence they had for Martyrs. Their paſſions ſtiled their Birthday, and why. Theſe anniverſary Solemnities kept at the Tombs of Martyrs. Over theſe magnificent Churches erected afterwards. What religious exerciſes performed at thoſe meetings. The firſt riſe of Martyrologies. Oblations for Martyrs, how underſtood in the ancient Writers of the Church. Theſe Feſtivals kept with great rejoycing, mutual love and charity; their* συμπόσια *or common Feaſts. Markets held for that purpoſe in thoſe places. The ill uſe which aftertimes made of theſe memorials.*

TIme is a circumſtance no leſs inſeparable from religious actions than Place, for man conſiſting of a ſoul and body cannot always be actually engaged

engaged in the service of God, that's the priviledge of Angels, and souls freed from the fetters of mortality; so long as we are here, we must worship God with respect to our present state, and consequently of necessity have some definite and particular time to do it in. Now that man might not be left to a floating uncertainty in a matter of so great importance, in all Ages and Nations men have been guided by the very dictates of Nature to pitch upon some *certain seasons*, wherein to assemble and meet together to perform the publick offices of Religion: What and how many were the publick *Festivals* instituted and observed either amongst *Jews* or *Gentiles*, I am not concerned to take notice of. For the ancient Christians, they ever had their peculiar seasons, their solemn and stated times of meeting together to perform the common duties of Divine Worship; of which because the **Lords-Day** challenges the precedency of all the rest, we shall begin first with that. And being unconcern'd in all the controversies which in the late times were raised about it; I shall only note some instances of the piety of Christians in reference to this day, which I have ob- Part 1.

Part 1. ſerved in paſſing through the Writers of thoſe times. For the name of this day of Publick Worſhip, it is ſometimes, eſpecially by *Juſtin Martyr* and *Tertullian*, called *Sunday*, becauſe it hapned upon that day of the week, which by the Heathens was dedicated to the *Sun*, and therefore as being beſt known to them, the Fathers commonly made uſe of it in their Apologies to the Heathen Governours. This title continued after the world became Chriſtian, and ſeldom it is that it paſſes under any other name in the Imperial Edicts of the firſt Chriſtian Emperours. But the more proper and prevailing name was Κυριακὴ, or *Dies Dominica*, the *Lords-day*, as 'tis
Rev. 1. 10. called by S. *John* himſelf, as being that day of the Week whereon our *Lord* made his triumphant return from the
Ap. 2 p. 99. dead; this *Juſtin Martyr* aſſures us was the true original of the title; upon *Sunday* (*ſays he*) we all aſſemble and meet together, as being the firſt day wherein God, parting the darkneſs from the rude chaos, created the world, and the ſame day whereon *Jeſus Chriſt* our Saviour roſe again from the dead; for he was crucified the day before *Saturday*, and the day after (which is *Sunday*) he

he appeared to his Apostles and Disciples: by this means observing a *kind* of analogy and proportion with the Jewish Sabbath which had been instituted by God himself. For as that day was kept as a commemoration of Gods *sabbath*, or resting from the work of Creation, so was this set apart to religious uses, as the solemn memorial of *Christs* resting from the work of our redemption in this world, compleated upon the day of his resurrection. Which brings into my mind that custom of theirs so universally common in those days, that whereas at other times they *kneeled* at prayers, on the Lords day they always prayed *standing*, as is expressly affirmed both by *Justin Martyr* and *Tertullian*; the reason of which we find in the *Authour* of the *Questions* and *Answers* in *J. Martyr*: it is (*says he*) that by this means we may be put in mind both of our fall by sin, & our resurrection or restitution by the grace of *Christ*; that for six days we pray upon our knees, is in token of our fall by sin; but that on the Lords day we do not bow the knee, does symbolically represent our *resurrection*, by which through the grace of Christ we are delivered from our sins, and the powers of death: this he there tells us was a custom

Part 1.

Ap. 2. *p.* 98. *De Coron. c.* 3 *p.* 102. *Resp ad Quest.* 115 *p.* 468.

Part 1. deriv'd from the very times of the Apostles, for which he cites *Irenæus* in his Book concerning *Easter*; and this custom was maintained with so much vigour, that when some began to neglect it, the great Can. 20. Council of *Nice* took notice of it, and ordained that there should be a constant *uniformity* in this case, and that on the Lords day (and at such other times as were usual) men should *stand*, when they made their prayers to God. So fit and reasonable did they think it to do all possible honour to that day, on which Christ rose from the dead. Therefore we may observe all along in the sacred story, that after Christs resurrection the Apostles and primitive Christians did especially assemble upon *the first day of the week*: and whatever they might do at other times, yet there are many passages that intimate, that the first day of the week was their more solemn time of meeting; on this day it was that they were met together, when our Saviour first appeared to them, and so again the next week after: on this day they were assembled when the Holy Ghost so visibly came down upon them, when *Peter* preached that excellent Sermon, converted and baptized three thousand souls.

ſouls. Thus when S. *Paul* was taking his leave at *Troos*, upon the *firſt day* of the week, when the Diſciples came together to *break Bread*, *i. e.* as almoſt all agree, to celebrate the holy Sacrament, he preached to them, ſufficiently intimating that upon that day 'twas their uſual cuſtom to meet in that manner; and elſewhere giving directions to the Church of *Corinth* (as he had done in the like caſe to other Churches) concerning their contributions to the poor ſuffering Brethren, he bids them lay it aſide upon the firſt day of the week, which ſeems plainly to reſpect their religious aſſemblies upon that day, for then it was that every one according to his ability depoſited ſomething for the relief of the poor, and the uſes of the Church. Part 1. 1 *Cor.* 16. 1, 2.

After the Apoſtles the Chriſtians conſtantly obſerved this day, meeting together for prayer, expounding and hearing of the Scriptures, celebration of the Sacraments, and other publick duties of Religion. *Upon the day called Sunday* (ſays J. Martyr) *all of us that live either in City or Country meet together in one place*; and what they then did, he there deſcribes, of which aſtewards: this doubtleſs *Pliny* meant, when giving *Trajan* an account of the Chriſtians, he Ap. 2 p. 98. *Lib.* 10. *Ep.* 97.

Part 1. tells him that they were wont to meet together to worship Christ *stato die*, upon a set certain day, by which he can be reasonably understood to design no other but the Lords day; for though they probably met at other times, yet he takes notice of this only, either because the Christians, whom he had examin'd, had not told him of their meeting at other times, or because this was their most publick and solemn convention, and which in a manner swallowed up the rest. By the violent persecutions of those times the Christians were forced to meet together before day, so *Pliny* in the same place tells the Emperour, that they assembled *before day-light, to sing their morning hymns to Christ.* Whence it is that *Tertullian* so often mentions their *nocturnal convocations*; for putting the case that his Wife after his decease should marry with a Gentile-Husband, amongst other inconveniencies he asks her, whether she thought he would be willing to let her rise from his Bed to go to their night-meetings; and in the case of persecution he tells *Fabius*, that if they could not celebrate *Dominica solennia*, their Lords-Day Solemnities in the day time, they had the night sufficiently clear with the *light* of Christ.

Ad Uxor. l. 2. c. 4. p. 168.

De fug. in persecut. c. 14. p. 543.

Christ. This gave occasion to their spightful Adversaries to calumniate and asperse them: the Heathen in *Minucius* charges them with their night-Congregations, upon which account they are there scornfully called *latebrosa & lucifugax natio*, an *obscure and skulking Generation*; and the very first thing that *Celsus* objects is, that the Christians had private and clancular Assemblies, or Combinations; to which *Origen* answers, that if it were so, they might thank them for it, who would not suffer them to exercise it more openly; that the Christian Doctrine was sufficiently evident and obvious, and better known through the world, than the opinions and sentiments of their best Philosophers; and that if there were some mysteries in the Christian Religion which were not communicated to every one, 'twas no other thing than what was common in the several Sects of their own Philosophy. But to return. Part 1. *M Fal* p. 7. *Orig. adv. C. l.* 1. p. 4. 27.

They looked upon the *Lords-Day* as a time to be celebrated with great expressions of joy, as being the happy memory of Christs resurrection, and accordingly restrained what ever might savour of sorrow and sadness; fasting on that day they prohibited with the greatest

Part 1. severity, accounting it utterly unlawful, as *Tertullian* informs us. It was a very bitter censure that of *Ignatius* (or whosoever that Epistle was, for certainly it was not his) that who ever *fasts* on a *Lords-Day* is a *murderer* of *Christ*; however 'tis certain, that they never fasted on those days, no not in the time of *Lent* it self; nay the *Montanists*, though otherwise great pretenders to fasting and mortification, did yet abstain from it on the Lords-day. And as they accounted it a joyful and good day, so they did what ever they thought might contribute to the honour of it. No sooner was *Constantine* come over to the Church, but his principal care was about the *Lords-Day*, he commanded it to be solemnly observed, and that by all persons whatsoever, he made it to all a day of *rest*; that men might have nothing to do but to worship God, and be better instructed in the Christian Faith, and spend their whole time without any thing to hinder them in prayer and devotion, according to the custom and discipline of the Church: and for those in his Army who yet remained in their *Paganism* and infidelity, he commanded them upon *Lords-days* to go out into

De Cor. mit. c. 3. p. 102.

Ep. ad Philip. p. 112.

Euseb. de vit Const. l. 4. c. 18. 19. 20. p. 534.

into the Fields, and there pour out their Part 1.
ſouls in hearty prayers to God; and that none might pretend their own inability to the duty, he himſelf compoſed and gave them a ſhort *form* of prayer, which he enjoin'd them to make uſe of every Lords-Day: ſo careful was he that this day ſhould not be *diſhonoured* or *miſ-imployed*, even by thoſe who were yet *ſtrangers* and *enemies* to Chriſtianity. He moreover ordained, that there ſhould be no *Courts* of Judicature open upon this day, no *Suits* or Tryals at *Law*, but that for any works of mercy, ſuch as the *emancipating* and ſetting free of Slaves or Servants, this might be done. That there ſhould be no Suits nor demanding debts upon this day, was confirmed by ſeveral Laws of ſucceeding Emperours, and that no *Arbitrators* who had the Umpirage of any buſineſs lying before them, ſhould at that time have power to determine or take up litigious cauſes, penalties being entail'd upon any that tranſgreſſed herein. *Theodoſius the Great*, *anno* 386. by a ſecond Law ratified one which he had paſſed long before, wherein he expreſly prohibited all publick *ſhews* upon the Lords-Day, that the worſhip of God might not be confounded

Cod. Juſt. l. 3. Tit. 12. de feriis l. 3.

Cod. Theod. lib. 2. Tit. 8. de feriis l. 1. lib. 8. Tit. 8. l. 3.

Ib. lib. 15. Tit. 5. de ſpectac. l. 2.

Part 1. founded with those prophane Solemnities. This Law the younger *Theodosius* some few years after confirmed and enlarged, enacting, that on the Lords day (and some other Festivals there mentioned) not only *Christians*, but even *Jews* and *Heathens* should be restrained from the pleasure of all *Sights* and *Spectacles*, and the *Theatres* be shut up in every place; and whereas it might so happen that the *Birth-day* or *inauguration* of the Emperour might fall upon that day, therefore to let the people know how infinitely he preferred the honour of God, before the concerns of his own majesty and greatness, he commanded that if it should so happen, that then the imperial Solemnity should be put off, and deferred till another day.

Ib. Leg. 5. Dominico.

I shall take notice but of one instance more of their great observance of this day, and that was their constant *attendance* upon the Solemnities of publick Worship; they did not think it enough to read and pray, and praise God at *home*, but made conscience of appearing in the *publick* Assemblies, from which nothing but sickness and absolute necessity did detain them: and if sick, or in prison, or under banishment, nothing troubled

troubled them more, than that they could not come to Church, and join their devotions to the common Services. If perſecution at any time forced them to keep a little cloſe, yet no ſooner was there the leaſt mitigation, but they preſently returned to their open duty, and publickly met all together. No trivial pretences, no light excuſes were then admitted for any ones abſence from the Congregation, but according to the merit of the cauſe ſevere cenſures were paſſed upon them. The Synod of *Illiberis* provided, that if any man dwelling in a City (where uſually Churches were neareſt hand) ſhould for three *Lords Days* abſent himſelf from the Church, he ſhould for ſome time be ſuſpended the Communion, that he might appear to be corrected for his fault: They allowed no ſeparate Aſſemblies, no Congregations but what met in the publick Church; if any man took upon him to make a breach, and to draw people into corners, he was preſently condemned, and a ſutable penalty put upon him. When *Euplethius* Biſhop of *Sebaſtia* (a man pretending to great ſtrictneſs and auſterity of life) began to caſt off the Diſcipline of the Church, and to introduce

Part 1.

Can. 21; *p.* 28.

Part 1. duce many odd obſervations of his own, amongſt others, to contemn Prieſts that were married, to faſt on the Lords day, and to keep meetings in private houſes, drawing away many, but eſpecially *women*, (as the Hiſtorian obſerves) who leaving their Husbands were led away with errour, and from that into great filthineſs and impurity; no ſooner did the Biſhops of thoſe parts diſcover it, but meeting in Council at *Gangra* the *Metropolis* of *Paphlagonia* about the year 325. they condemned and caſt them out of the Church, paſſing theſe two *Canons* among the reſt: *If any one ſhall teach that the Houſe of God is to be deſpiſed, and the Aſſemblies that are held in it, let him be accurſed: If any ſhall take upon him out of the Church, privately to preach at home, and making light of the Church ſhall do thoſe things that belong only to the Church, without the preſence of the Prieſt, and the leave and allowance of the Biſhop, let him be accurſed.* Correſpondent to which, the *Canons* called *Apoſtolical*, and the Council of *Antioch*, ordain, that if any *Presbyter* ſetting light by his own *Biſhop*, ſhall withdraw and ſet up *ſeparate* meetings, and erect another *Altar* (*i. e.* ſays *Zonaras*, keep unlawful

Sozom. l. 3. c. 14. p. 521

Conc. Gangr. Can. 4. 5.

Can. 31. Conc. Antioch. Can. 5.

lawful Conventicles, preach privately, and administer the Sacrament) that in such a case he shall be *deposed*, as ambitious and tyrannical, and the people communicating with him be *excommunicate*, as being factious and schismatical; only this not to be done, till after the third admonition. After all that has been said, I might further show what esteem and value the first Christians had of the Lords day, by those great and honourable things they have spoken concerning it; of which I'll produce but two passages; the one is that in the Epistle *ad Magnesios*, which if not *Ignatius*, must yet be acknowledged an ancient Authour: *Let every one* (says he) *that loves Christ keep the Lords day Festival, the resurrection day, the Queen and Empress of all days, in which our life was raised again, and death conquered by our Lord and Saviour.* The other that of *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, who speaks thus, *that both custom and reason challenge from us, that we should honour the Lords day, and keep it Festival, seeing on that day it was that our Lord Jesus Christ compleated his resurrection from the dead.* Part 1. Pag. 149. Edit. Theoph. apud Balsam. in Synod. Tom. 2. part 1. p. 170.

Next to the Lords day, the *Sabbath*, or

Part 1. or *Saturday* (for ſo the word *Sabbatum* is conſtantly uſed in the Writings of the Fathers, when ſpeaking of it as it relates to Chriſtians) was held by them in great veneration, and eſpecially in the *Eaſtern* parts honoured with all the publick Solemnities of Religion. For which we are to know, that the Goſpel in thoſe parts mainly prevailing amongſt the *Jews*, they being generally the firſt Converts to the Chriſtian Faith, they ſtill retained a mighty reverence for the *Moſaick* Inſtitutions, and eſpecially for the *Sabbath*, as that which had been appointed by God himſelf (as the memorial of his reſt from the work of Creation) ſetled by their great Maſter *Moſes*, and celebrated by their Anceſtors for ſo many Ages, as the ſolemn day of their publick Worſhip, and were therefore very loth that it ſhould be wholly antiquated and laid aſide. For this reaſon it ſeemed good to the prudence of thoſe times (as in others of the Jewiſh Rites, ſo in this) to indulge the humour of that people, and to keep the Sabbath as a day for religious offices. Hence they uſually had moſt parts of Divine Service performed upon that day, they met together for publick Prayers,

Prayer, for reading the Scriptures, celebration of the Sacraments, and such like duties. This is plain not only from some passages in *Ignatius*, and *Clemens* his Constitutions, but from Writers of more unquestionable credit and authority. *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria* tells us, that they assembled on Saturdays, not that they were infected with *Judaism*, but only to worship *Jesus Christ* the Lord of the Sabbath: and *Socrates* speaking of the usual times of their publick meeting, calls the Sabbath and the Lords day the weekly Festivals, on which the Congregation was wont to meet in the Church, for the performance of Divine Services. Therefore the Council of *Laodicea* amongst other things decreed, that upon *Saturdays* the Gospels and other Scriptures should be read, that in *Lent* the Eucharist should not be celebrated but upon *Saturday* and the *Lords day*, and upon those days only in the time of *Lent* it should be lawful to commemorate and rehearse the names of Martyrs. Upon this day also aswel as upon *Sunday* all *Fasts* were severely prohibited (an infallible argument they counted it a Festival day) one *Saturday* in the year only excepted, *viz.* that

Part 1.

Homil. de Sement. in init.

Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 8. p. 312.

Can. 16. 49. 51.

Part 1. that before *Easter-day*, which was always observed as a solemn Fast. Things so commonly known as to need no proof. But though the Church thought fit thus far to correspond with Jewish Converts, as solemnly to observe the Sabbath; yet to take away all offence, and to vindicate themselves from compliance with Judaism, they openly declared that they did it only in a *Christian way*, and kept it not as a Jewish Sabbath, as is expressly affirmed by *Athanasius*, *Nazianzen*, and others; and the forementioned *Laodicean* Synod has a *Canon* to this purpose, that Christians should not *judaize*, and rest from all labour on the Sabbath, but follow their ordinary works (*i. e.* so far as consisted with their attendance upon the publick Assemblies) and should not entertain such thoughts of it, but that still they should prefer the Lords day before it; and on that day rest as *Christians*; but if any were found to *judaize* they should be accursed.

Athanas. Homil. de Sement. Tom. 1. p. 885.

Can. 29:

Thus stood the case in the *Eastern* Church; in those of the *West* we find it somewhat different, amongst them it was not observed as a religious *Festival*, but kept as a constant *Fast*, the reason whereof (as 'tis given by Pope *Innocent*,

nocent in an Epistle to the Bishop of *Eugubium*, where he treats of this very case) seems most probable; if (*says he*) we commemorate Christs resurrection not only at *Easter*, but every *Lords day*, and fast upon *Friday* because 'twas the day of his passion, we ought not to pass by *Saturday*, which is the middle-time between the days of grief and joy; the Apostles themselves spending those two days (*viz. Friday* and the Sabbath) in great sorrow and heaviness: and he thinks no doubt ought to be made but that the Apostles fasted upon those two days, whence the Church had a *Tradition*, that the Sacraments were not to be administred on those days, and therefore concludes, that every *Saturday* or *Sabbath* ought to be kept a Fast: to the same purpose the Council of *Illiberis* ordained, that a *Saturday* Festival was an errour that ought to be reformed, and that men ought to fast upon every Sabbath. But though this seems to have been the general practice, yet it did not obtain in all places of the *West* alike. In *Italy* it self, 'twas otherwise at *Milain*; where *Saturday* was a Festival; and 'tis said in the life of S. *Ambrose*, who was Bishop of that See, that he constantly

Part 1.

Innocent. Ep. ad Decium Eugubium. c. 4. Sabbato verò.

Can. 36. p. 35.

Paulin. in vit. Ambr. operibus Ambros. prefix.

Part 1. dined as well upon *Saturday* as the Lords day, (it being his custom to dine upon no other days but those, and the memorials of the Martyrs) and used also upon that day to preach to the people; though so great was the prudence and moderation of that good man, that he bound not up himself in these indifferent things, but when he was at *Millain* he dined upon *Saturdays*, and when he was at *Rome*, he fasted as they did upon those days: This S. *Augustine* assures us he had from his own mouth; for when his Mother *Monica* came after him to *Millain* (where he then resided) she was greatly troubled to find the *Saturday* Fast not kept there, as she had found it in other places; for her satisfaction he immediately went to consult S. *Ambrose*, then Bishop of that place, who told him he could give him no better advice in the case, than to do as he did: *When I come to* Rome (said he) *I fast on the* Saturday *as they do at* Rome, *when I am here I do not fast. So likewise you, to whatsoever Church you come, observe the custom of that place, if you mean not either to give or take offence.* With this answer he satisfied his Mother, and ever after when he thought of it, looked upon

Ad Januar. Epist. 118. col. 557 tom. 2.

on it as an *Oracle* ſent from *Heaven*. So that even in *Italy* the *Saturday* Faſt was not univerſally obſerved. Nay a very *learned man* (and a Biſhop of the *Roman* Church) thinks it highly probable, that for the firſt Ages eſpecially, *Saturday* was no more kept as a Faſt at *Rome*, than in the Churches of the *Eaſt*: though the great argument whereby he would eſtabliſh it (*viz.* becauſe ſome *Latine* Churches, who muſt needs follow the pattern of the Church of *Rome*, did not keep it ſo) is very infirm and weak; and needs no more than that very inſtance of the Church of *Millain* to refute it, which though under the *Popes* noſe, did not yet keep that day as a Faſt, although this was many years after it had been ſo eſtabliſhed and obſerved at *Rome*. Part 1. *Albaſp. de vet. Eccl. rit. obſ.* 13. p. 90.

And now that I am got into this buſineſs, I ſhall once for all diſpatch the matter about their *Faſts*, before I proceed to their other Feſtivals. 'Tis certain the ancient Chriſtians had two ſorts of ſolemn Faſts, *weekly* and *annual*. Their *weekly* Faſts (called *jejunia quartæ & ſextæ feriæ*) were kept upon *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays*, appointed ſo, as we are told, for this reaſon, becauſe on *Wed-*

Part 1. *nesday* our Lord was betrayed by *Judas*, on *Friday* he was crucified by the *Jews*. This custom *Epiphanius* (how truly I know not) refers to the Apostles, and elsewhere tells us that those days were observed as Fasts through the whole world. These Fasts they called their *Stations* (not because they *stood* all the while, but by an allusion to the *military Stations* and keeping their Guards, as *Tertullian* observes, they kept close at it) and they usually lasted ἐως ὥρας ἐννάτης, as *Epiphanius* informs us, *till the ninth hour*, *i. e.* till three of the Clock in the Afternoon, at which time having ended their Fast devotions, they received the *Eucharist*, and then broke up the Station, and went home; whence it is that *Tertullian* calls them *stationum semijejunia*, the *half Fasts of Stations*: and he seems to censure the practice of some who having privately resolved upon an entire Fast of the whole day, refused to receive the *Eucharist* at the publick stationary Fasts, because they thought that by eating and drinking the sacramental Elements, they put a period to their fasting: for it was usual in those times with many, after the stationary Fasts were ended, to continue and hold on the

Vid. Constit. App. l. 5. c. 14. p. 929. l. 7. c. 24. p. 978.

Serm. Compend. p. 466 Hæres. 85. p. 387.

De Orat. c. 14. p. 136.

Serm. Compend. de fid. p. 466.

De jejun. c. 13 p. 551

De Orat. c. 14 p. 135.

Vid. de jejun. p. 445. A p. 549. B

the Fast until the evening. The Historian tells us that it had been a very ancient custom in the Church of *Alexandria*, upon these days to have the Scriptures read and expounded, and all other parts of Divine Service, except the celebration of the Sacrament, and that it was chiefly in those days that *Origen* was wont to teach the people: whether the omitting of the Sacrament then might be a peculiar custom to that Church, I know not, certain I am 'twas upon those days administred in other places. So S. *Basil* enumerating the times how oft they received it every week, expresly puts *Wednesday* and *Friday* into the number: the remains of these *primitive Stations* are yet observed in our *Church* at this day, which by her 15. *Canon* has ordained, *That though* Wednesdays *and* Fridays *be not holy days, yet that weekly upon those times* Minister *and* People *shall resort to Church at the accustomed hours of prayer.* Part 1. *Socrat. l. 5. c. 22. p. 287* *Tom 3. Epist. 289. p. 279.*

Their *Annual* Fast was that of *Lent*, by way of preparation to the Feast of our Saviours Resurrection, this (though not in the modern use of it) was very ancient, though far from being an *Apostolical Canon*, as a *learned Prelate* of our *B. Tayl. Duct. Dub. lib 3. c. 4. p. 629.*

Part 1. Church has fully proved. From the very first Age of the Christian Church 'twas customary to fast before *Easter*; but for how long, it was variously observed according to different times and places; some fasting so many days, others so many weeks, and some so many days on each week; and 'tis most probably thought, that it was at first stiled τεσσαρακοστὴ or *Quadragesima*, not because 'twas a Fast of *forty days*, but of *forty hours*, begun about twelve on *Friday* (the time of our Saviours falling under the power of death) and continued till *Sunday morning*, the time of his rising from the dead. Afterwards it was enlarged to a longer time, drawn out into more days, and then weeks, till it came to three, and at last to six or seven weeks. But concerning the different observations of it in several places, let them who desire to know more consult *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, who both speak enough about it. This *Quadragesimal* Fast was kept in those times with great piety and Religion, people generally applying themselves with all seriousness to acts of penance and mortification, whence *Chrysostom* calls *Lent* the remedy and *Physick* of our souls; and to the

Id. ib. vid. Thorndike. rel. assemb. p. 8. p. 276.

Socrat. l. 5. c. 22.

Sozom. l. 7. c. 19.

Hom. 1. in Gen. tom. 2. p. 4.

the end that the obſervation of it might be more grave and ſolemn, *Theodoſius M.* and his Colleague Emperours paſſed two Laws, that during the time of *Lent* all Proceſs and enquiry into criminal actions ſhould be ſuſpended, and no corporal puniſhments inflicted upon any; it being unfit (as the ſecond of thoſe Laws expreſſes it) that in the holy time of *Lent* the *body* ſhould ſuffer puniſhment, while the *ſoul* is expecting abſolution. But with what care ſoever they kept the preceding parts, 'tis certain they kept the cloſe of it with a mighty ſtrictneſs and auſterity, I mean the laſt week of it, that which immediately preceded the Feaſt of *Eaſter*; this they conſecrated to more peculiar acts of prayer, abſtinence, and devotion; and whereas in the other parts of *Lent* they ended their faſt in the evening, in this they extended it to the Cock-crowing, or firſt glimpſe of the morning; to be ſure they ended it not before midnight, for to break up the Faſt before that time was accounted a piece of great prophaneneſs and intemperance, as *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria* determines in a Letter to *Baſilides*, wherein he largely and learnedly ſtates the caſe. This was the

Part 1.

Cod. Theod. lib. 9. Tit. 35. de Queſtion. l. 4. & 5.

Conſtit. Apoſtol l. c. 17. p. 232. Epiphan. Expoſit. fid. p. 466.

Apud Zonar. in Synod Tom 2. part. 1. p 1.

Part 1. *Hebdomeda Magna*, the *great* (or *holy*) week; so called (says *Chrysostom*) not that it has either more *hours* or *days* in it than other weeks, but because this is the week in which *truly great* and ineffable good things were purchased for us; within this time death was conquered, the curse destroyed, the Devils tyranny dissolved, his instruments broken, Heaven opened, Angels rejoyced, the partition-wall broken down, and God and man reconciled. For this cause we call it the *great week*, for this cause men fast, and watch, and do Alms, to do the greater honour to it: the Emperours themselves, to shew what veneration they have for this time, commanding all Suits and Processes at Law to cease, Tribunal-doors to be shut up, and Prisoners to be set free, imitating herein their great Lord and Master, who by his death at this time delivered us from the prison and the chains of sin, meaning herein those Laws of *Theodosius*, *Gratian*, and *Valentinian*, which we lately mentioned.

Hom. 30. *in Gen. p.* 328.

We proceed now to enquire what other Festivals there were in those first Ages of the Church, which I find to be chiefly these; *Easter*, *Whitsuntide*, and *Epiphany*,

Epiphany, which comprehended two, *Christmas* and *Epiphany* properly so called. I reckon them not in their proper order, but as I suppose them to have taken place in the Church: Of these *Easter* challenges the precedence both for its antiquity, and the great stir about it; that in and from the very times of the Apostles (besides the weekly returns of the Lords day) there has been always observed an *Anniversary* Festival in memory of Christs *Resurrection*, no man can doubt, that has any insight into the affairs of the ancient Church; all the dispute was about the particular time when it was to be kept, which became a matter of as famous a Controversie as any that in those Ages exercised the Christian world. The state of the case was briefly this; the Churches of *Asia* the less kept their *Easter* upon the same day, whereon the Jews celebrated their *Passover*, *viz.* upon the 14. day of the first Month (which always began with the appearance of the Moon) mostly answering to our *March*, and this they did, upon what day of the week soever it fell, and hence were stiled *Quartodecimans*, because keeping Easter *quarta decima Luna*, upon the 14. Part 1.

Part 1. 14. day after the φάσις or appearance of the *Moon*. The other Churches, and especially those of the *West* did not follow this custom, but kept *Easter* upon the Lords day following the day of the Jewish Passover, partly the more to honour the day, and partly to distinguish between Jews and Christians: the *Asiaticks* pleaded for themselves the practice of the *Apostles*, *Polycarpus* Bishop of *Smyrna*, who had lived and conversed with them, having kept it upon that day, together with S. *John* and the rest of the Apostles, as *Irenæus* (who himself knew *Polycarpus*, and doubtless had it from his own mouth) speaks in a Letter about this very thing, though himself was of the other side. And *Polycrates* in a Letter to the same purpose, instances not only in S. *John*, but S. *Philip* the Apostle, who himself and his whole Family used so to keep it, from whom it had been conveyed down in a constant and uninterrupted observance through all the Bishops of those places, some whereof he there enumerates, and tells us that seven Bishops of that place in a constant succession had been his Kinsmen, and himself the eighth, and that it had never been kept by them upon any other day; this

Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 24. p. 193

Ibid p. 191

this we are not so to understand, as if S. *John* and the Apostles had instituted this Festival, and commanded it to be observed upon *that day*, but rather that they did it by way of *condescension*, accommodating their practice in a matter indifferent to the humour of the *Jewish* Converts (whose number in those parts was very great) as they had done before in several other cases, and particularly in observing the *Sabbath* or *Saturday*. The other Churches also (says *Eusebius*) had for their patronage an *Apostolical Tradition*, or at least pretended it; and were the much more numerous party. This difference was the spring of great bustles in the Church; for the Bishops of *Rome* stickled hard to impose their custom upon the *Eastern* Churches, whereupon *Polycarpus* comes over to *Rome* to confer with *Anicetus* who was then Bishop about it; and though they could not agree the matter, yet they parted fairly. After this *Pope Victor* renewed the quarrel, and was so fierce and peremptory in the case, that he either actually did, or (as a learned man inclines rather to think probably to mollifie the *odium* of the Fact) severely threatned to excommunicate those *Eastern* Churches

Part 1.

Ib. c. 23. p. 190.

Id. l. 4. c. 14. p. 127.

H. Vales. Annot. in Euseb. l. 5. c. 24. p. 105 col. 1.

Part 1. Churches for ſtanding out againſt it: this raſh and bold attempt was ill reſented by the ſober and moderate men of his own party, who writ to him about it; and particularly *Irenæus* (a man, as *Euſebius* notes, truly anſwering his *name*, both in his temper and his life, *quiet and peaceable*) who gravely reproved him for renting the peace of the Church, and troubling ſo many famous Churches for obſerving the cuſtoms derived to them from their Anceſtors, with much more to the ſame purpoſe. But the *Aſian* Biſhops little regarded what was either ſaid or done at *Rome*, and ſtill went on in their old courſe, though by the diligent practices of the other party they loſt ground, but yet ſtill made ſhift to keep the cauſe on foot till the time of *Conſtantine*, who finding this controverſie amongſt others much to diſquiet the peace of the Church, did for this and ſome other reaſons ſummon the great Council of *Nice*, by whom this queſtion was ſolemnly determined, *Eaſter* ordained to be kept upon one and the ſame day throughout the world, not according to the cuſtom of the *Jews*, but upon the *Lords day*, and this Decree ratified and publiſhed by the imperial Letters to all the Churches.

Euſeb. de vit. Conſtant. l. 3. c. 14--17.

The

The Eve or *Vigils* of this Festival were wont to be celebrated with more than ordinary pomp, with solemn watchings, with multitudes of lighted *Torches* both in the Churches and their own private houses, so as to turn the night it self into day, and with the general resort and confluence of all rancks of men, both Magistrates and people. This custom of lights at that time was, if not begun, at least much augmented by *Constantine*, who set up Lamps and Torches in all places as well within the Churches as without; that through the whole City the night seemed to outvye the Sun at Noonday. And this they did (as *Nazianzen* intimates) as a *prodromus* or forerunner of that *great* light, even the *Sun of righteousness*, which the next day arose upon the world. For the *Feast* it self, the same Father calls it the holy and famous *Passover*, a day which is the *Queen* of days, the *Festival* of *Festivals*, and which as far excels all other, even of those which are instituted to the honour of *Christ*, as the *Sun* goes beyond the other *stars*. A time it was famous for works of *mercy* and *charity*, every one both of *Clergy* and *Laity* striving to contribute liberally to the poor: a duty (as

Part 1.

Naz. Or. 2. in Pasch. Orat. 42. p. 676.

Euseb. de vit. Const. l. 4. c. 22. p. 536.

Ibid. p. 677

Ibid. & Orat. 19. p. 304.

Part 1. (as one of the *Ancients* observes) very congruous and suitable to that happy season, for what more fit, than that such as beg relief should be enabled to rejoice at that time, when we remember the common fountain of our mercies. Therefore no sooner did the morning of this day appear, but *Constantine* used to arise, and in imitation of the love and kindness of our blessed *Saviour*, to bestow the richest and most noble gifts, and to diffuse the influences of his bounty over all parts of his *Empire*. And his example herein it seems was followed by most of his Successors, who used upon this Solemnity by their imperial Orders to release all *Prisoners*, unless such as were in for more heavy and notorious crimes, high Treason, Murders, Rapes, Incest, and the like. And *Chrysostom* tells us of a Letter of *Theodosius* the Great sent at this time throughout the Empire, wherein he did not only command, that all Prisoners should be released and pardoned, but wished he was able to recal those that were already executed, and to restore them to life again. And because by the negligence and remissness of messengers, or any accident those Imperial Letters might sometimes happen to come

Commod. instruction. c. 75. p. 57.

Euseb. ut supra.

Hom. 20. ad pop. Antioch. p. 230. tom. 1.

come too late, therefore *Valentinian* the younger provided by a ſtanding Law, that whether order came or not, the Judges ſhould diſpence the accuſtomed indulgence, and upon *Eaſter* day in the morning cauſe all Priſons to be open, the Chains to be knock'd off, and the perſons ſet at liberty. *Lib. 9. C. Theod. Tit. 38. de indulg. l. 8.*

Part 1.

The next Feaſt conſiderable in thoſe primitive times, was that of **Whitſunday** or *Pentecoſt*, a Feaſt of great eminency amongſt the *Jews*, in memory of the Law delivered at Mount *Sinai* at that time, and for the gathering and bringing in of their *Harveſt*; and of no leſs note amongſt *Chriſtians* for the *Holy Ghoſts* deſcending upon the *Apoſtles* and other Chriſtians, in the viſible appearance of *fiery cloven tongues*, which hapned upon that day, and thoſe miraculous powers then conferred upon them. It was obſerved with the ſame reſpect to *Eaſter*, that the *Jews* did with reſpect to their *Paſſover*, *viz.* (as the word imports) juſt *fifty days* after it, reckoning from the ſecond day of that Feſtival: it ſeems to ſome to have commenced from the firſt riſe of Chriſtianity, not only becauſe the *Apoſtles* and the Church were aſſembled upon that day, but becauſe

S.

Part 1. S. *Paul* made ſo much haſte to be at *Jeruſalem* the day of *Pentecoſt*, which they
Act. 20. 16. underſtand of his great deſire to keep it there as a *Chriſtian Feaſt*. But the argument ſeems to me no way concluſive, for the Apoſtle might deſire to be there at that time, both becauſe he was ſure to meet with a great number of the Brethren, and becauſe he ſhould have a fitter opportunity to preach the Goſpel to the *Jews*, who from all parts flock'd thither to the Feaſt, as our Saviour himſelf for the ſame reaſon uſed to go up to *Jeruſalem* at all their great and ſolemn Feaſts. But however this was, 'tis certain the obſervation of it is ancient, 'twas mentioned by *Irenæus* in a Book which he wrote concerning *Eaſter*, as the Author of the
Queſt. 115. *Queſtions* and *Reſponſes* in *J. Martyr* tells
Tert. de Idol. c. 14. *p.* 94. us; by *Tertullian*, and after him by *Origen* more than once. This Feaſt is by
Adv. Celſ. l. 8 *p.* 392. us ſtiled *Whitſunday*, partly becauſe of thoſe vaſt diffuſions of *light* and *knowledge* which upon this day were ſhed upon the *Apoſtles*, in order to the *enlightning* of the world; but principally becauſe this (as alſo *Eaſter*) being the ſtated time for *Baptiſm* in the ancient Church, thoſe who were baptized put on *white Garments*, in token of that

pure

pure and *innocent* course of life they had now engaged in (of which more in its proper place:) this white Garment they wore till the next *Sunday* after, and then laid it aside; whence the *Octave* or *Sunday* after *Easter* came to be stiled *Dominica in Albis*, the *Sunday* in white, it being then that the new-baptized put off their white Garments. We may observe that in the Writers of those times the *whole space of fifty days* between *Easter* and *Whitsunday* goes often under the name of *Pentecost*, and was in a manner accounted Festival, as *Tertullian* informs us, and the forty third *Canon* of the *Illiberitan* Council seems to intimate. During this whole time baptism was conferred, all Fasts were suspended and counted unlawful, they prayed standing as they did every Lords day; and at this time read over *the Acts of the Apostles*, wherein their sufferings and miracles are recorded, as we learn from a Law of the younger *Theodosius*, wherein this custom is mentioned, and more plainly from S. *Chrysostom*, who treats of it in an *Homily* on purpose, where he gives this reason why that Book which contained those actions of the Apostles which were done after *Pentecost*,

Part 1.

Tert. de Idol. c. 14. de Bapt. c. 19. de Cor. mil. c. 3. vid. Max. Taurin Homil 3. de S. Pentecost. p. 223.

C. Th. lib. 15. Tit. 5. l. 5. Serm. 72. Cur. Act. App legantur in Pentec. Tom. 5.

Part 1. ſhould yet be read before it, when as at all other times thoſe parts of the Goſpel were read, which were proper to the ſeaſon, becauſe the Apoſtles miracles being the grand *confirmation* of the truth of Chriſts *Reſurrection*, and thoſe miracles recorded in that Book, it was therefore moſt proper to be read next to the Feaſt of the Reſurrection.

Epiphany ſucceeds; this word was of old promiſcuouſly uſed either for the Feaſt of Chriſts *Nativity*, or for that which we now properly call by that name: afterwards the Titles became diſtinct; that of Chriſts *Birth* (or as we now term it **Chriſtmas-day**) was called γενέθλια the *Nativity*, and Θεοφάνια the *appearance of God in the fleſh*; two names importing the ſame thing as *Nazianzen* notes. For the antiquity of it, the firſt footſteps I find of it are in the ſecond Century, though I doubt not but it might be celebrated before, mentioned by *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Cæſaria*, about the time of the Emperour *Commodus*: but if any credit might be given to the *Decretal* Epiſtles, it was ſomewhat elder than that, *Pope Teleſphorus*, who lived under *Antoninus Pius*, ordaining Divine Service to be celebrated, and an angelical Hymn to

Εἰς τὰ Θεοφάνια, *Orat.* 38. *p.* 613.

Decret Teleſph. ſect. nocte vero.

to be ſung the night before the *Nativity* of our *Saviour*. However that it was kept before the times of *Conſtantine*, we have this ſad inſtance. That when the perſecution raged under *Diocleſian*, who then kept his Court at *Nicomedia*, amongſt other acts of barbarous cruelty done there, finding multitudes of Chriſtians young and old met together in the Temple, upon the day of *Chriſts Nativity*, to celebrate that Feſtival, he commanded the Church doors to be ſhut up, and fire to be put to it, which in a ſhort time reduced them and the Church to aſhes. I ſhall not diſpute, whether it was always obſerved upon the ſame day that we keep it now, *the twenty fifth of December*; it ſeems probable, that for a long time in the *Eaſt* it was kept in *January*, under the name, and at the general time of the *Epiphania*, till receiving more light in the caſe from the Churches of the *Weſt*, they changed it to this day; ſure I am S. *Chryſoſtom* in an Homily on purpoſe about this very thing affirms, that it was not above ten years ſince in that Church (*i. e. Antioch*) it began firſt to be obſerved upon that day, and there offers ſeveral reaſons to prove that to be the true day of Chriſts Nativity.

Part 1.

Niceph. H. Eccleſ. l 7. c. 6. p. 446. forſan. ex Sim. Metaphraſt. qui eadem habet in Martyr. Ind. & Damn. apud Sur. ad 26. Decemb. tom. 6.

Serm. 31. Tom. 5. p. 417.

Part 1. The Feast of *Epiphany*, properly so called, was kept on the *sixth of January*, and had that name from a threefold *apparition* or manifestation commemorated upon that day, which all hapned, though not in the same year, yet upon the same day of the year. The first was the *appearance* of the *Star*, which guided the wise men to Christ. The second was the famous *appearance* at the *baptism* of *Christ*, when all the persons in the holy *Trinity* did sensibly manifest themselves, the *Father* in the *voice* from Heaven, the *Son* in the *River Jordan*, and the *Holy Ghost* in the visible shape of a *Dove*. This was ever accounted a famous Festival, and as S. *Chrysostom* tells us was properly called *Epiphany*, because he came in a manner into the world *incognito*; but at his baptism openly appeared to be the Son of God, and was so declared before the world. At this time it was that by his *going into the River Jordan he did sanctifie water to the mystical washing away of sin* (as our Church expresses it) in memory whereof, *Chrysostom* tells us, they used in this Solemnity at midnight to draw water, which they looked upon as *consecrated* this day, and carrying it home to lay it up, where it would remain

Hom. 23. de Baptismo Christi. tom. 1. p. 278.

Ibid.

remain pure and uncorrupt for a whole year, ſometimes two or three years together, the truth whereof muſt reſt upon the credit of that good man. The third *manifeſtation* commemorated at this time, was that of Chriſts *divinity*, which appeared in the firſt miracle that he wrought in *turning water into Wine*; therefore 'twas called *Bethphania*, becauſe it was done in the *houſe* at that famous Marriage in *Cana* of *Galilee*, which our Saviour honoured with his own preſence. All theſe three appearances contributed to the Solemnity of this Feſtival. Part 1.

But beſide theſe, there was another ſort of Feſtivals in the primitive Church, kept in commemoration of *Martyrs*: for the underſtanding of which we are to know, that in thoſe ſad and bloody times when the Chriſtian Religion triumphed over perſecution, and gained upon the world by nothing more than the conſtant and reſolute ſufferings of its profeſſors; whom no threatnings or torments could baffle out of it; the people generally had a vaſt reverence for thoſe who ſuffered thus deep in the cauſe of Chriſtianity, and laid down their lives for the confirmation of it. They

Part 1. looked upon *Confessors* and *Martyrs* as the great *Champions* of their Religion, who *resisted unto blood*, and dyed upon the spot to make good its ground, and to maintain its honour and reputation; and therefore thought it very reasonable to do all possible honour to their memories, partly that others might be encouraged to the like patience and fortitude, and partly that virtue even in this world might not lose its reward. Hence they were wont once a year to meet at the *Graves* of *Martyrs*, there solemnly to recite their sufferings and their triumphs, to praise their virtues, and to bless God for their pious examples, for their holy lives and their happy deaths, for their Palms and Crowns. These anniversary Solemnities were called *memoriæ martyrum*, the *memories of the Martyrs*, a title mentioned by *Cyprian*, but certainly much older than his time; and indeed when they were first taken up in the Church is I think not so exactly known: the first that I remember to have met with, is that of *Polycarp* (whose martyrdom is placed by *Eusebius anno* 168. under the third Persecution) concerning whose death and sufferings the Church of *Smyrna* (of which he

Epist. 37. *p.* 51.

Euseb. Chron ad An. 168.

he was Biſhop) giving an account to the Church of *Philomelium*, and eſpecially of the place where they had honourably entomb'd his bones, they do profeſs that (ſo far the malice of their Enemies would permit them, and they prayed God nothing might hinder it) they would aſſemble in that place, and celebrate the *Birth-day* of his Martyrdom with joy and gladneſs: where we may eſpecially obſerve, that this Solemnity is ſtiled his *Birth-day*, and indeed ſo the primitive Chriſtians uſed to call the days of their death and paſſion (quite contrary to the manner of the *Gentiles*, who kept the *natalitials* of their famous men) looking upon theſe as the true days of their nativity, wherein they were freed from this Valley of tears, theſe regions of death, and *born again* unto the joys and happineſs of an endleſs life. The ſame account *Origen* gives (if that Book be his, a very ancient Author however) we keep (*ſays he*) the memories of the Saints, of our Anceſtors, and friends that dye in the faith, both rejoycing in that reſt which they have obtained, and begging for our ſelves a pious *conſummation* in the faith: and we celebrate not the day of their *nativity*, as being

Part 1.

Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl l. 4. c. 15. p. 135.

Expoſ. in Job. l. 3 fol. 39. tom. 2.

Part 1. the *inlet* to sorrow and temptation, but of their *death*, as the *period* of their miseries, and that which sets them beyond the reach of temptations. And this we do, both *Clergie* and *People* meeting together, inviting the poor and needy, and refreshing the Widows and the Orphans; that so our Festival may be both in respect of *them*, whom we commemorate, the memorial of that happy rest which their departed souls do enjoy; and in respect of *us* the *odour* of a *sweet smell* in the sight of God. Under *Constantine* these days were commanded to be observed with great care and strictness, enjoining all his *Lieutenants* and Governours of Provinces to see the *memorials* of the *Martyrs* duly honoured; and so sacred were they accounted in those days, that it was thought a piece of prophaneness to be absent from them; therefore S. *Basil* thought he could not use a more solemn argument, to perswade a certain Bishop to come over to him upon this occasion, than to adjure him by the respect he bore to the *memories* of the Martyrs, that if he would not do it for his, yet he should for their sakes, towards whom it was unfit he should shew the least disregard. Hence

De vit. Const. l. 4 c. 23. p. 536.

Epist. 336. tom. 3. p. 328.

it

it is that *Libanius* sometimes takes notice of the *Christians* under no other character than this, *Enemies to the gods* τοὺς περὶ τοὺς τάφους, *that haunt and frequent Tombs and Sepulchres.* For the *time* of these assemblies it was commonly *once a year, viz.* upoa the day of their martyrdom, for which end they took particular care to keep *Registers* of the days of the Martyrs passions. So *Cyprian* expressly charges his *Clergie* to note down the days of their decease, that there might be a commemoration of them amongst the *memories* of the Martyrs. *Theodoret* tells us, that in his time they did not thus assemble once or twice, or five times in a year, but kept *frequent* memorials, oftentimes every day celebrating the memorials of Martyrs, with hymns and praises unto God. But I suppose he means it of days appointed to the memory of *particular* Martyrs, which being then very numerous, their memorials were distinctly fixed upon their proper days, the Festival of S. *Peter*, or S. *Paul*, *Thomas*, *Sergius*, *Marcellus*, &c. as he there enumerates them. For the *places*, these Solemnities were kept at first at the *Tombs* where the Martyrs had been buried, which usually were

Part 1.

Apologet. pro doctr. sua. p. 592.

Loco supra annot.

De Cur. Græc. affect. Serm. 8. de martyrib. p. 121.

Part 1. were in the *Cæmiteria* or *Church-yard*, distinct in those times from their places of Publick Worship, and at a great distance from them, as being commonly without the Cities. Here their burying places were in large *cryptæ* or *Grots* under ground, where they celebrated these memorials, and whither they used to retire for their common devotions in times of great persecution, when their Churches were destroyed or taken from them. And therefore when *Æmilian* the Governour of *Egypt* under the Reign of *Valerian* would screw up the persecution against Christians, he forbad their meetings, and that they should not so much as assemble in the places which they called their *Church-yards*; the same *priviledge* which *Maximinus* also had taken from them. By reason of the darkness of these places, and their frequent assembling there in the *night*, to avoid the fury of their Enemies, they were forced to use *Lights* and *Lamps* in their publick meetings, but they who make this an argument to patronize their burning of Lamps and Wax-Candles in their Churches at Noon-day (as 'tis in all the great Churches of the *Roman* Communion) talk at a strange rate of wild inconsequence.

Euseb. Hist. lib. 7. c. 11. p. 258. l. 9. c. 2. p. 349.

conſequence. I am ſure S. *Hierom* when charged with it, denied that they uſed any in the day time, and never but at night when they roſe up to their night-devotions. He confeſſes indeed 'twas otherwiſe in the *Eaſtern* Churches, where when the *Goſpel* was to be read, they ſet up Lights, as a token of their *rejoycing* for thoſe happy and glad tidings that were contained in it, *light* having been ever uſed as a *ſymbol* and repreſentation of *joy* and *gladneſs*: A cuſtom probably not much elder than his time. Afterwards when Chriſtianity prevailed in the world, the devotion of Chriſtians erected Churches in thoſe places; the Temples of the Martyrs (*ſays Theodoſius*) being *ſpacious* and *beautiful*, richly and curiouſly *adorned*, and ſhining with great luſtre and brightneſs. Theſe Solemnities, as the ſame Author informs us, were kept not like the Heathen Feſtivals with *luxury* and *obſceneneſs*, but with *devotion* and *ſobriety*, with divine *Hymns* and religious *Sermons*, with fervent *prayers* to God, mixed many times with ſighs and tears. Here they heard Sermons and Orations, joined in publick prayers and praiſes, received the holy Sacrament, offered gifts and charities for

Part I.

Adv. vigilant. tom. 2. p. 123.

Ibid.

Vid. Conſtit. App. l. 8. c. 45. p. 1040.

Vid. Epiphan. λόγ. συνοπ. περ. πίς. p. 466.

Part 1. for the poor, recited the names of the Martyrs then commemorated with their due elogies and commendations, and their virtues propounded to the imitation of the hearers. For which purpose they had their set *Notaries* who took the *acts*, *sayings*, and *sufferings* of Martyrs, which were after *compiled* into particular *Treatises*, and were recited in these annual meetings, and this was the first original of *Martyrologies* in the Christian Church. From this custom of offering up prayers, praises, and alms at those times, it is that the Fathers speak so often of *oblations* and *sacrifices* at the Martyrs Festivals. *Tertullian* often, *upon an anniversary day* (says he) *we make oblations for them that are departed, in memory of their* Natalitia *or Birth-days*, and to the same purpose elsewhere. *As oft* (says Cyprian) *as by an anniversary commemoration we celebrate the passion days of the Martyrs, we always offer sacrifices for them*; and the same phrases oft occur in many others of the Fathers. By which 'tis evident, they meant no more than their publick *prayers*, and offering up *praises* to God for the piety and constancy, and the excellent examples of their Martyrs, their celebrating the *Eucharist*

De Cor. mil. c. 3. p. 102.
De exhort. Castil. p. 523.
De monog. p. 531.
Epist. 34. p. 48. & Ep. 37.

chariſt at theſe times, as the *commemoration* of Chriſts *ſacrifice*, their oblation of *alms* and charity for the poor, every one of which truly may, and often is ſtiled a *ſacrifice* or *oblation*; and are ſo underſtood by ſome of the more moderate, even of the *Romiſh* Church: and with good reaſon, for that they did not make any real and formal *ſacrifices* and *oblations* to Martyrs, but only *honour* them as *holy men*, and *friends to God*, who for his and our Saviours honour, and the truth of Religion, choſe to lay down their lives, I find expreſly affirmed by *Theodoret*. Part 1. *Rigalt. obſ. ad Cypr. H. Valeſ. annot. ad Euſeb. Hiſt. Annot. p. 262. Pitharell. de miſſa. p. 103--107.* *Loco ſupra cit. p. 116.*

Theſe Feſtivals being times of mirth and gladneſs were celebrated with great expreſſions of love and charity to the poor, and mutual rejoycings with one another. Here they had their Συμπόσια, or *Feaſts*, every one bringing ſomething to the *common* Banquet, out of which the poor alſo had their ſhare. Theſe Feaſts at firſt were very ſober and temperate, and ſuch as became the modeſty and ſimplicity of Chriſtians, as we heard before out of *Theodoret*, and is affirmed before him by *Conſtantine* in his *Oration* to the *Saints*. But degenerating afterwards into exceſs and intemperance, *Cap. 12. p. 585.*

Part 1. perance, they were every where declaimed againſt by the Fathers, till they were wholly laid aſide. Upon the account of theſe Feaſts, and for the better making proviſions for them, we may conceive it was that *Markets* came to be kept at theſe times and places, for of ſuch S. *Baſil* ſpeaks ἀγοραζόμεναι ἐν τοῖς μαρτυρίοις γινόμεναι, *Markets held at the memorials and Tombs of Martyrs*; theſe he condemns as highly *unſuitable* to thoſe Solemnities, which were only inſtituted for prayer, and a commemoration of the virtues of good men, for our incouragement and imitation, and that they ought to remember the ſeverity of our otherwiſe meek and humble Saviour, who whipt the *Buyers* and *Sellers* out of the *Temple*, when by their marketings they had turned the *houſe of prayer into a den of thieves*. And the truth is theſe anniverſary commemorations, though in their primitive inſtitution they are highly reaſonable and commendable, yet through the folly and dotage of men they were after made to miniſter to great ſuperſtition and idolatry; ſo plain is it that the beſt and uſefulleſt things may be corrupted to bad purpoſes. For hence ſprung the doctrine and practice of

Reg. fuſ. diſput. interrogat. 40. tom. 2. 2. p. 589.

of *prayer and invocation of Saints*, and their *interceſſion* with God, the worſhipping of *Reliques*, *Pilgrimages*, and *viſiting Churches*, and offering at the *Shrines* of ſuch and ſuch Saints, and ſuch like ſuperſtitious practices, which in after Ages over-run ſo great a part of the Chriſtian Church; things utterly unknown to the ſimplicity of thoſe purer and better times. Part I.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the perſons conſtituting the body of the Church, both people and Miniſters.

The people diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral ranks. Catechumens of two ſorts. Gradually inſtructed in the principles of the Chriſtian Faith. Accounted only Chriſtians at large. The more recondite myſteries of Chriſtianity concealed from perſons till after baptiſm. Three reaſons aſſigned of it. How long they remained in the ſtate of Catechumens. The ſeveral Claſſes of Penitents, the πεσσκλαίοντες, ἀκροώμενοι, ὑποπίπτοντες, συνισάμενοι, *the* πίστοι

or

Part 1. *or the faithful. Their particular ſtations in the Church. Their great reverence for the Lords Supper. The Clergie why called* Κληρος. *Of two ſorts: the higheſt Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons. Biſhops as ſuperiour to Presbyters how ancient by the moſt learned oppoſers of Epiſcopacy. Their office and priviledge, what.* Chorepiſcopi, *who. Their power and priviledge above Presbyters. The* περιοδευται *or Viſiters in every Dioceſs. Of Metropolitans, what their power and authority above ordinary Biſhops; their antiquity. Of Patriarchs, and in what reſpects ſuperiour to Metropolitans and Archbiſhops. An account of conforming the external juriſdiction of the Church to the Civil Government of the Roman Empire. Presbyters their place and duty. Whether they preached in the preſence of the Biſhop. Deacons, their Inſtitution, office, number. The Arch-Deacon. Of inferiour orders. The Sub-deacon. The Aſolythus. The Exorciſt. The Reader. The Door-keeper. What the nature of their ſeveral places. Ordination to theſe Offices how managed. The people preſent at and conſenting to the Ordination.* Sacerdotes prædicari, *what. The Chriſtian diſcipline in this caſe imitated*

imitated by the Emperour Severus, *in appointing Civil Officers. Great tryals and testimonials to be had of persons to be ordained. Clergie-men to rise by degrees. The age usually required in those that were to be promoted to the several orders. Of Deaconesses, their antiquity, age, and office. The great honour and respect shewed to Bishops and Ministers. Looked upon as common Parents. Nothing of moment done without their leave. Their welcome, and the honour done them where-ever they came: this made good by several instances. Bishops invested with power to determine civil controversies. The plentiful provision made for them. The great priviledges and immunities granted by* Constantine, *and his Successors to the Bishops and Clergie, noted out of the* Theodosian *Code.* Part 1.

FRom the consideration of time and place, we proceed to consider the **Persons** that constituted and made up their Religious Assemblies; and they were either the *body* of the *people*, or those who were peculiarly *consecrated* and set apart for the publick ministrations of Religion. For the Body of the

Part 1. people, we may obſerve that as *Chriſtianity* at firſt generally gain'd admiſſion in great Towns and Cities, ſo all the *Believers* of that place uſually aſſembled and met together: the Chriſtians alſo of the Neighbour-Villages reſorting thither at times of publick Worſhip. But Religion encreaſing apace, the publick Aſſembly eſpecially in the greater Cities quickly began to be too vaſt and numerous, to be managed with any order and conveniency, and therefore they were forced to divide the *body* into particular *Congregations*, who had their *Paſtors* and ſpiritual Guides ſet over them, but ſtill were under the ſuperintendency and care of him that was the *Preſident* or *Biſhop* of the place. And according as the Church could form and eſtabliſh its diſcipline, the people either according to their *ſeniority* and improvement, or according to the *quality* of the preſent condition they were under, began to be diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral rancks and *Claſſes*, which had their diſtinct places in the Church, and their gradual admiſſion to the ſeveral parts of the publick Worſhip. The firſt were the **Catechumens**, and of theſe there were two ſorts, the τελειότεροι, or more *perfect*, ſuch

Baſam. Zonar. Ariſten. in Can 5. Conc. Neoc. Caſar.

such as had been *Catechumens* of some considerable standing, and were even ripe for Baptism; these might stay not only the reading of the Scriptures, but to the very last part of the first Service. The others were the ἀτελέστεροι, the more rude and *imperfect*, who stood only amongst the *Hearers*, and were to depart the Congregation, as soon as the *Lessons* were read: these were as yet accounted *Heathens*, who applied themselves to the Christian Faith, and were *catechized* and instructed in the more plain grounds and rudiments of Religion. These principles were gradually delivered to them, according as they became capable to receive them; first the more plain, and then the more difficult. Indeed they were very shye of imparting the knowledge of the more recondite Doctrines of *Christianity* to any till after Baptism. So S. *Cyril* expressly assures us, where speaking to the *illuminate* or Baptized: if during the chatechetical exercise, *says he*, a *Catechumen* shall ask thee, what that means which the Preachers say, tell him not, for he is yet without; and these *mysteries* are delivered to thee only. The weak understanding of a *Catechumen* being no more able to bear such

Præf. ad Catech. Illum. p. 13.

Part 1.

Part 1. ſublime *myſteries*, than a ſick mans head can large and immoderate draughts of Wine. And at the end of his *Preface* *Ibid. p. 21.* he has this note, *Theſe Catechetical diſcourſes may be read by thoſe that are to be baptized, or the faithful already baptized: but to Catchumens or ſuch as are no Chriſtians thou mayſt not impart them; for if thou doſt, expect to give an account to God.*

De Spirit. S. c. 27. p. 352. tom. 2. S. *Baſil* diſcourſing of the Rites and Inſtitutions of Chriſtianity, divides them into two parts, the τὰ κηρύγματα, and the τὰ δόγματα The τὰ κηρύγματα were thoſe parts of Religion which might δημοσίευθῆναι, be familiarly *preached* and expounded to the people: The τὰ δόγματα were the more ſublime and hidden Doctrines and parts of the Chriſtian Faith; and theſe were ἀπόῤῥητα, things not raſhly and commonly to be *divulged*, but to be lock'd up in ſilence. Of this nature were the *Vid. Dionyſ. Arreop. de Eccl. Hierarch. c. 1. p. 230.* Doctrines of the *Trinity* and *Hypoſtatic Union*, and ſuch like, eſpecially of the two *Sacraments*, *Baptiſm* and the *Lords Supper*. For though they acquainted their young hearers with ſo much of them as was neceſſary to ſtir up their deſires, yet as to the main of the things themſelves, the ſacramental *Symbols*, the

manner

manner of their celebration, the *modus* of the divine presence at the holy *Eucharist*, the meaning of all those *mystical* Rites and Ceremonies that were used about them, these were carefully concealed both from *Strangers* and *Catechumens*, and communicated only to those who were solemnly initiated and baptized. Hence that ancient *form* so common in the Sermons and Writings of the Fathers, whereby when accidentally discoursing before the people of any of these mysterious parts of Religion, they used to fetch themselves off with an ΙΣΑΣΙΝ ΟΙ ΜΕΜΥΗΜΕΝΟΙ, *Those that are initiated know what is said.* This was so usual, that this phrase occurs at least fifty times in the Writings of S. *Chrysostom* only, as *Casaubon* hath observed: who has likewise noted three reasons out of the *Fathers*, why they so studiously concealed these parts of their Religion. *First*, the nature of the things themselves, so sublime and remote from vulgar apprehensions, that they would signifie little to *Pagans* or *Catechumens* not yet fully instructed and confirmed in the faith, and would either be lost upon them, or in danger to be derided by them. Secondly, that hereby the

Part 1.

Chrys. Hom. 67 in Genes. p. 719. Tom. 1. & alibi sæpiss. Ibid pelus. l. 4. Epist. 162. p. 82. altique. Exercit. 16 ad Annal. Bar. S. 43. p. 556.

Part 1. *Catechumens* and younger Christians might be inflamed with a greater eagerness of desire to partake of the mysteries and priviledges of the *Faithful*; humane nature being desirous of nothing more, than the knowledge of what is kept and conceal'd from us. To help them forwards in this, S. *Augustine* tells us, that in their publick prayers they were wont to beg of God to inspire the *Catechumens* with a desire of baptismal regeneration. The same account *Chrysostom* gives us, this being part of the form used in their publick Service, *Let us pray that the most gracious and merciful God would hear the prayers of the Catechumens*; and what it was they prayed for, he presently adds, *viz. that they might no longer remain in that state.* Upon these accounts *initiation* by Baptism, but especially *admission* to the Lords Supper, is amongst other titles in the Writers of those times called *Desiderata*, because so earnestly *desired* and sought for by those that were not yet taken in. The truth is, till persons arrived at this state, they were not accounted *Christians* (or but in a large sense as *Candidates* that stood in order to it) and therefore could not satisfie themselves either to

Ad Vital. Epist. 107. col. 493.

Hom. 2. *in cap.* 1. 1 *ad Cor. p.* 740.

Vid. Chrys. ibid.

to *live* or *dye* in that condition, where- Part 1.
in they wanted the great *ſeals* and *pledges* of their Chriſtianity. *Thirdly*, to beget in mens minds the higher eſteem and veneration for theſe religious myſteries, nothing producing a greater *contempt* even in ſacred things, than too much openneſs and familiarity. So that a little obſcurity and concealment might ſeem neceſſary to vindicate them from contempt, and ſecure the majeſty and reverence that was due to them. This made the *Fathers* & *Seniors* of the Church (ſays S. *Baſil*) in preſcribing Rites and Laws, leave many things in the dark, behind the vail and curtain, that they might τὸ σεμνὸν τοῖς μυστηίοις φυλάξαι, preſerve the *ſacredneſs* and *dignity* that was due to the myſteries of Religion. For a thing (*ſays he*) cannot properly be ſaid to be a *myſtery*, when 'tis once *expos'd* to every vulgar and common ear. But of this enough, if not too much. *Loc. ſupr. laud.*

And as they were careful to keep the higher parts of Chriſtianity within the cognizance of the *faithful*, ſo they were not leſs careful to teach and inſtruct the *Catechumens* in all thoſe principles they were capable of being taught. This at their firſt coming over was done pri-

Part 1. vately and at home, by persons deputed on purpose to that office by the Bishop, (as *Balsamon* clearly intimates) till they were sufficiently instructed in the first and more intelligible principles of the faith. Then they were admitted into the *Congregation*, and suffered to be present at some parts of the Divine Service, especially the *Sermons*, which were made for the building them up unto higher measures of knowledge; which being ended, they were commanded to *depart* the Church, not being suffered to be present at the more solemn Rites, especially the celebration of the Lords Supper: and in this manner they were trained up, till they were initiated by baptism, and taken into the highest form of Christians. How long persons remained in the state of the *Catechumens* is difficult to determine, it not being always nor in all places alike, but longer in some and shorter in others, and probably according to the capacity of the persons. The *Apostolic Constitutions* appoint *three years* for the *Catechumen* to be instructed; but provide withal that if any one be diligent and virtuous, and have a ripeness of understanding for the thing, he may be admitted to Baptism sooner:

In Can. 26. Conc. Laodic.

Lib. 8. c. 32. p. 1032.

ſooner: for (*ſay they*) not the *ſpace* of time, but the *fitneſs* and *manners* of men, are to be regarded in this matter. Part 1.

The next ſort were the **Penitents**, ſuch as for ſome miſdemeanours were under the cenſures and ſeverity of the Church, and were gradually to obtain abſolution from it. Of theſe there were ſeveral degrees, five eſpecially mentioned by S. *Gregory* of *Neo Cæſarea*, who liv'd about the year 250. The firſt were the οἱ προσκλαίοντες, ſuch as *wept* and *lamented*, and were rather Candidates to be received into the order of *Penitents*, than *Penitents* properly ſo called. Theſe uſually ſtood in a ſqualid and mournful habit at the *Church-Porch*, with tears and great importunity begging of the *Faithful* as they went in, to pray for them. The ſecond were the Ἀκροώμενοι, the *Hearers*, who were admitted to hear the holy Scriptures read and expounded to the people. Their *ſtation* was at the upper end of the *Narthex*, or firſt part of the Church, and were to depart the Congregation at the ſame time with the *Catechumens*. The third *Claſs* of *Penitents* was that of the ὑποπίπτοντες, the *Proſtrate*, becauſe ſervice being ended, they *fell down* before the Biſhop, who together with

Epiſt. Canon. περὶ τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων. Can. 11. p. 121.

Sozom. H. Eccl. lib. 7. c. 16. p. 727.

Part 1. with the Congregation falling down and making confeſſion in their behalf, after rais'd them up, and laid his hands upon them. Theſe ſtood within the body of the Church next the *Pulpit* or *Reading-Pew*, and were to depart together with the *Catechumens*. The fourth were the Συνιςάμενοι, the *Conſiſtentes*, ſuch as *ſtayed* with the reſt of the Congregation, and did not depart with the *Catechumens*, but after they and the other Penitents were gone out, ſtayed and joined in prayer and ſinging (but not in receiving the Sacrament) with the faithful. Theſe after ſome time were advanced into the fifth and laſt *order* of the *Communicantes* (μέθεξιν τῶν ἁγιασμάτων S. *Gregory* calls it) and were admitted to the participation of the holy Sacrament. This was the ſtate of the *Penitents* in the primitive Church. Perſons having fully paſſed through the ſtate of the *Catechumenate*, became then immediate Candidates of Baptiſm, preſented their *names* to the Biſhop, and humbly proſtrating themſelves begged that they might be entred into the Church. Theſe were called *Competentes*, becauſe they did *Competere gratiam Chriſti*, ſue for the *grace* of *Chriſt* conferred in Baptiſm. The laſt ranck

ranck was that of the πιστοὶ or the **Faithful**, who having been baptized and confirmed, and having approved themselves by the long train and course of a strict pious life, were then admitted to the participation of the *Lords Supper*; which being the highest and most venerable mystery of the *Christian Religion*, was not then rashly given to any, but to such only as had run through all other degrees, and by a course of piety evidenced themselves to be such real and faithful *Christians*, as that the highest mysteries and most solemn parts of Religion might be committed to them. This was the highest order, and looked upon with great regard, and for any of this ranck to lapse and be *overtaken with a fault*, cost them severer *penances*, than were imposed upon the inferiour forms of Christians. Part 1.

This in short was the state of the *people*. But because 'tis not possible any body or community of men should be regularly managed without some particular persons to superintend, direct, and govern the affairs of the whole Society, therefore we are next to enquire what persons there were in the primitive Church, that were peculiarly *set apart* to

Part 1. to steer its affairs, and to attend upon the publick Offices and Ministrations of it. That God always had a *peculiar* people, whom he selected for himself out of the rest of mankind, is too evident to need any proof. Such were the *Patriarchs*, and the *holy seed* of old: such the *Jews*, chosen by him above all other Nations in the world. This was his κλῆρος, his particular *lot* and portion, comprehending the body of the people in general. But afterwards this title was confin'd to narrower bounds, and became appropriate to that *Tribe*, which God had made choice of to *stand before him*, to wait at his *Altar*, and to minister in the services of his Worship. And after the expiration of their *Oeconomy*, was accordingly used to denote the *ministry* of the *Gospel*, the persons peculiarly consecrated and devoted to the service of God in the Christian Church: the *Clergie* being those, *qui divino cultui ministeria religionis impendant* (as they are defin'd in a Law of the Emperour *Constantine*) who are set apart for the *ministries* of Religion, in matters relating to the *Divine Worship*. Now the whole κλῆρος ἱερατικὸς (as 'tis often called in the *Apostles Canons*) the *roll* of the

C. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. Eccl. & Cler. L. 2.

the *Clergie* of the ancient Church (taking it within the compass of its first four hundred years) consisted of *two sorts* of persons; the ἱερωμένοι, who were peculiarly consecrated to the more *proper* and *immediate* acts of the Worship of God: and the ὑπηρέται, such as were set apart only for the *more mean and common* services of the Church. Of the first sort were these three, *Bishops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*. Part 1.

The first and principal Officer of the Church was the President or **Bishop**, usually chosen out of the *Presbyters*. I shall not here concern my self in the disputes, whether *Episcopacy* as a superior order to *Presbytery*, was of *divine institution* (a controversie sufficiently ventilated in the late times) it being enough to my purpose, what is acknowledged both by *Blondel* and *Salmasius*, the most learned defenders of Presbytery, that Bishops were distinct from, and superior to Presbyters in the second *Century*, or the *next Age* to the Apostles. The main work and office of a Bishop was to *teach* and instruct the people, to *administer* the Sacraments, to *absolve* Penitents, to eject and *excommunicate* obstinate and incorrigible offenders, to

preside

Part 1. *preſide* in the Aſſemblies of the Clergy, to *ordain* inferiour Officers in the Church, to *call* them to *account*, and to *ſuſpend* or deal with them according to the nature of the offence, to urge the *obſervance* of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, and to *appoint* and inſtitute ſuch indifferent Rites, as were for the decent and orderly adminiſtration of his Church. In ſhort, according to the notation of his name he was σκοπὸς, a *Watchman* and *Sentinel*, and therefore obliged Ἐπισκοπῶν, diligently and carefully to *inſpect* and obſerve, to ſuperintend and provide for thoſe that were under his charge. This *Zonaras* tells us was implied in the Biſhops *Throne*, being placed on *high* in the moſt eminent part of the Church, to denote how much 'twas his duty from thence to overlook, and very diligently to obſerve the people that were under him. Theſe and many more were the unqueſtionable rights and duties of the Epiſcopal Office; which becauſe it was very difficult and troubleſom for one man to diſcharge, eſpecially where the παροικία or *Dioceſs* (as we now call it) was any thing large, therefore upon the multiplying of Country Churches, it was thought fit to take in a *ſubordinate* ſort

In Can. Apoſt. Can. 58.

sort of *Bishops* called *Chorepiscopi*, *Country* or (as amongst us they have been called) *suffragan* Bishops, whose business it was to *superintend* and inspect the Churches in the *Country*, that lay more remote from the City, where the *Episcopal* See was, and which the Bishop could not always inspect and oversee in his own person. These were the *Vicarii Episcoporum* (as they are called in *Isidores* Version of the thirteenth *Canon*, both of the *Ancyran* and *Neocæsarean Council*) the Bishops *Deputies*, chosen out of the fittest and gravest persons. In the *Canon* of the last mentioned Council they are said to be chosen in *imitation* of the seventy, not the *seventy Elders* which *Moses* took in to bear part of the Government, (as some have *glossed* the words of that *Canon*) but of the *seventy Disciples* whom our Lord made choice of, to send up and down the Countries to preach the Gospel, as both *Zonaras* and *Balsamon* understand it: and thereupon by reason of their great care and pains are commanded to be esteemed very *honourable*. Their authority was much greater than that of *Presbyters*, and yet much inferior to the *Bishop*. Bishops really they were, though their power

Part 1.

Conc. Antiocb. Can. 10.

Part 1. power confin'd within narrow limits; they were not allowed to ordain either *Presbyters* or *Deacons*, (unleſs peculiarly licens'd to it by the Biſhop of the *Dioceſs*) though they might ordain *ſub-Deacons*, *Readers*, and any inferiour Officers under them. They were to be *aſſiſtant* to the Biſhop, might be preſent at *Synods* and Councils (to many whereof we find their ſubſcriptions) and had power to give *Letters* of *peace*, *i. e.* ſuch Letters, whereby the Biſhop of one *Dioceſs* was wont to recommend any of his Clergy to the Biſhop of another, that ſo a fair underſtanding and correſpondence might be maintained between them; a priviledge expreſly denied to any *Presbyter* whatſoever. But leaſt this wandring employment of the *Chorepiſcopi* ſhould reflect any diſhonour upon the Epiſcopal Office, there were certain *Presbyters* appointed in their room (called περιοδευται, or *Viſiters*, often mentioned in the ancient *Canons* and *Acts* of Councils) who being tied to no certain place were to go up and down the Country, to obſerve and correct what was amiſs. And theſe doubtleſs were thoſe Ἐπιχώριοι πρεσβύτεροι (ſpoken of in the thirteenth *Canon* of the *Neocæſarean* Council)

Ibid. Can. 8.

Conc. Laod. Can. 57.

Council) those *rural Presbyters*, who are there forbid to consecrate the *Eucharist* in the *City Church*, in the presence of the *Bishop* or the *Presbyters* of the City. Part 1.

As Christianity encreased and overspread all parts, and especially the Cities of the Empire, it was found necessary yet farther to enlarge the Episcopal Office, and as there was commonly a Bishop in every *great City*, so in the *Metropolis* (as the *Romans* called it) the *Mother City* of every *Province* (wherein they had Courts of Civil Judicature) there was an **Archbishop** or a **Metropolitan**, who had Ecclesiastical jurisdiction over all the Churches within that Province. He was superior to all the Bishops within those limits; to him it belonged either to *ordain*, or to *ratifie* the elections and ordinations of all the Bishops within his Province, insomuch that without his *confirmation* they were looked upon as null and void. Once at least every year he was to summon the Bishops under him to a *Synod*, to enquire into and direct the Ecclesiastical affairs within that Province; to inspect the lives and manners, the opinions and principles of his Bishops, to *admonish*, reprove, and suspend them that were disorderly and

Part 1. irregular; if any controverſies or contentions happened between any of them, he was to have the *hearing* and *determination* of them; and indeed no matter of *moment* was done within the whole Province without firſt conſulting him in the caſe. Beſides this *Metropolitan* there was many times another in the ſame Province, who enjoyed nothing but that name and title, his *Epiſcopal See* being by the Emperors *Pragmatic* erected into the dignity of a *Metropolis*. He was only an *Honorary Metropolitan*, without any real power and juriſdiction, and had no other priviledge, but that he took place above other ordinary Biſhops, in all things elſe equally ſubject with them to the *Metropolitan* of the Province, as the Council of *Chalcedon* determines in this caſe. When this Office of *Metropolitan* firſt began, I find not, only this we are ſure of, that the Council of *Nice* ſetling the juſt rights and priviledges of *Metropolitan Biſhops* ſpeaks of them as a thing of *ancient* date, uſhering in the *Canon* with an ἀρχαία ἔθη κρατείτω, *let ancient cuſtoms ſtill take place*. The original of the *inſtitution* ſeems to have been partly to comply with peoples occaſions, who oft reſorted

Can. 12.

Can. 6.

reſorted to the *Metropolis* for diſpatch of their affairs, and ſo might fitly diſcharge their *Civil* and *Eccleſiaſtical* concerns both at once; and partly becauſe of the great confluence of people to that City, that the Biſhop of it might have preheminence above the reſt, and the honour of the *Church* bear ſome proportion to that of the *State*. Part 1. *Vid Conc. Antioch. Can 9.*

After this ſprang up another *branch* of the Epiſcopal Office, as much ſuperior to that of *Metropolitans*, as theirs was to ordinary Biſhops, theſe were called **Primates** and **Patriarchs**, and had juriſdiction over many Provinces. For the underſtanding of this its neceſſary to know, that when Chriſtianity came to be fully ſetled in the world, they contrived to model the external Government of the Church, as near as might be to the Civil Government of the *Roman* Empire; the parallel moſt exactly drawn by an *ingenious* perſon of our own Nation: the ſum of it is this. The whole Empire of *Rome* was divided into *Thirteen Dioceſes* (ſo they called thoſe diviſions) theſe contained about *one hundred and twenty Provinces*, and every Province ſeveral *Cities*. Now as in every City there was a *temporal* Magiſtrate *Edward Breerwood Patriarch. Governm. of the ancient Church. Queſt. 1.*

Part 1. ſtrate for the executing of juſtice, and keeping peace both for that City, and the Towns round about it, ſo was there alſo a *Biſhop* for ſpiritual order and Government, whoſe juriſdiction was of like extent and latitude. In every Province there was a *Proconſul* or Preſident, whoſe ſeat was uſually at the *Metropolis* or chief City of the Province; and hither all inferior Cities came for judgment in matters of importance. And in proportion to this there was in the ſame City an *Archbiſhop* or *Metropolitan* for matters of Eccleſiaſtical concernment. Laſtly, in every *Dioceſs* the Emperors had their *Vicarii* or *Lieutenants*, who dwelt in the principal City of the *Dioceſs*, where all imperial *Edicts* were publiſhed, and from whence they were ſent abroad into the ſeveral Provinces, and where was the chief *Tribunal*, where all Cauſes not determinable elſewhere were decided. And to anſwer this, there was in the ſame City a *Primate*, to whom the laſt determination of all appeals from all the Provinces in differences of the *Clergie*, and the Soveraign care of all the Dioceſs for ſundry points of ſpiritual Government did belong. This in ſhort is the ſum of the account which that

learned

learned man gives of this matter. So that Part 1.
the *Patriarch* as ſuperior to *Metropolitans*, was to have under his juriſdiction not any one *ſingle Province*, but a *whole Dioceſs* (in the old *Roman* notion of that word) conſiſting of many *Provinces*. To him belonged the *ordination* of all the *Metropolitans* that were under him, as alſo the *ſummoning* them to Councils, the *correcting* and reforming the miſdemeanours they were guilty of, and from his judgment and ſentence in things properly within his cognizance there lay no appeal. To this I ſhall only add what *Salmaſius* has noted, that as the *Dioceſs* that was governed by the *Vicarius* had many *Provinces* under it, ſo the *Præfectus Prætorio* had ſeveral *Dioceſes* under him: and in proportion to this probably it was, that *Patriarchs* were firſt brought in, who if not ſuperior to *Primates* in juriſdiction and power, were yet in *honour*, by reaſon of the dignity of thoſe Cities where their *Sees* were fixed, as at *Rome*, *Conſtantinople*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jeruſalem*, a title and dignity which they retain to this day. De Primat. c. 19. p. 331

The next Office to Biſhops was that of **Presbyters**, to whom it belonged to preach to the people, to adminiſter

Part 1. Baptism, consecrate the Eucharist, and to be assistent to the Bishop both in publick ministrations, and in dispatching the affairs of the Church. The truth is, the *Presbyters* of every great City were a kind of *Ecclesiastical Senate*, under the care and presidency of the Bishop, whose counsel and assistance he made use of in ruling those Societies of Christians that were under his charge and government, and were accordingly reckoned next in place and power to him: thus described by S. *Gregory* in his *Iambics*.

εἰς ἑαυτὸν. *Carm.* 23. *p.* 244. *Tom.* 2.

——οἱ τὰ λύτερα
Θρόνων λελοιχότες,
Λαῷ πρόεδροι πρεσβύται,
Σεμνὴ γερουσία.

The venerable Senate of Presbyters, that preside over the people, and possess the second Throne, i.e. the place next to the Bishop: they are called *Clerici superioris loci*, and otherwhiles (unless we understand it of the *Chorepiscopi*) *Antistites in secundo ordine*; and accordingly in Churches had *seats* of *eminency* placed for them next to the Bishops Throne. Whereby was implied (says *Zonaras*) that they ought to use a proportionable care and providence

C. Theod. lib. 11. *Tit.* 39. *de fid. Test. lib.* 10. *Sidon. Apoll. lib.* 4. *Epist.* 11. *p.* 96. *In Can.* 58. *Apost.*

providence towards the people, to inform and teach them, to direct and guide them, being appointed as *Fellow-labourers* with, and *Assistants* to the Bishop. But though Presbyters by their ordination had a *power* conferred upon them to administer holy things, yet after that the Church was setled upon foundations of order and regularity, they did not usually *exercise* this power within any *Diocess*, without leave and authority from the *Bishop*, much less take upon them to preach in his presence. This custom (however it might be otherwise in the *Eastern* Church) we are sure was constantly observed in the Churches of *Afric* till the time of *Valerius*, S. *Augustine*'s Predecessor in the *See* of *Hippo*. Who being a *Greek*, and by reason of his little skill in the *Latine* tongue, unable to preach to the *edification* of the people, admitted S. *Augustine* (whom he had lately ordained *Presbyter*) to preach before him. Which though at first 'twas ill resented by some Bishops in those parts, yet quickly became a President for other Churches to follow after. Part 1. *Possid. in vit. Aug. c. 5. col 802 Tom. 1.*

After these came **Deacons**: What the duty of their place was appears from their primitive election, the Apostles *Act. 6.*

Part 1. ſetting them apart to *ſerve* or *miniſter to the Tables, i. e.* to attend upon and take charge of thoſe daily *proviſions* that were made for poor indigent Chriſtians; but certainly it implies alſo their being deſtinated to a peculiar attendance at the ſervice of the *Lords Table*. And both theſe may be very well meant in that place, it being the cuſtom of Chriſtians then to meet every day at the Lords Table, where they made their offerings for the poor, and when poor and rich had their meals together. And hence it was ever accounted part of the *Deacons* Office, as to take care of the poor, and to diſtribute the monies given for their relief and maintenance, ſo to wait upon the celebration of the *Euchariſt*, which being conſecrated by the Biſhop or *Presbyter*, the *Deacon* delivered the Sacramental elements to the people. Beſides this they were wont alſo to *preach* and to *baptize*, and were employed in many parts of the publick Service, eſpecially in guiding and directing of the people. The number of them in any one place was uſually reſtrained to *ſeven*, this being the number originally inſtituted by the *Apoſtles*, and which might not be altered, although the City was never

never so *great* and *numerous*, as 'tis in the last *Canon* of the *Neocæsarean* Council. As the *Presbyters* were to the *Bishop*, so the *Deacons* were to the *Presbyters*, to be assistent to them, and to give them all due respect and reverence. And therefore when some of them began to take too much upon them, to distribute the Sacrament before the Bishop or Presbyter, and to take place amongst the Presbyters, the Council of *Nice* took notice of it as a piece of bold and saucy usurpation, severely commanded them to know their place, and to contain themselves within their own *bounds* and *measures*, and neither to meddle with the Sacrament but in their order, nor to *sit down* before the *Presbyters*, unless it be by their leave and command, as 'tis expressed by the *Laodicean* Synod. Accordingly the first Council of *Arles* forbids the Deacons to do any thing of themselves, but to reserve the honour to the *Presbyters*. Out of the body of these *Deacons* there was usually one chosen to overlook the rest, the *Arch-Deacon*; an Office supposed to have been of good antiquity in the Church, and of great authority, especially in after times, being generally styled the *Eye of the Bishop*,

Part 1.

Can. 18.

Can. 20.

Can. 18.

Part 1. *Bishop*, to inspect all parts and places of his Dioceſs. This was he that in the Church of *Rome* was called the *Cardinal Deacon*, who (as *Onuphrius* tells us) was at first but one, though the number encreaſed afterwards. While Churches were little, and the ſervices not many, the Deacons themſelves were able to diſcharge them, but as theſe encreaſed ſo did their labours, and therefore 'twas thought fit to take in ſome inferior Officers under them. This gave being to

De Epiſc. Tit. & Diacon. Cardin. p. 24.

Subdeacons, who were to be aſſiſtent to the *Deacon*, as the Deacon to the *Presbyter*, and he to the *Biſhop*. One great part of his work was to wait at the *Church-doors* in the time of publick Worſhip, to uſher in, and to bring out the ſeveral orders of the *Catechumens* and *Penitents*, that none might miſtake their proper ſtations, and that no confuſion or diſorder might ariſe to the diſturbance of the Congregation. When he was firſt taken in, I cannot find, but he is mentioned in an Epiſtle of the *Roman Clergie* to them of *Carthage* about S. *Cyprians* retirement, and elſewhere very often in *Cyprian's* Epiſtles. Where he alſo ſpeaks of the **Acolythus**; what his proper buſineſs was, is not ſo certain; by

Conc. Laodic. Can. 43 ubi vid. Zon. & Balſam.

Inter Epiſt. Cypr. Epiſt. 2. p. 8.

Epiſt. 28. p. 41.

by ſome his Office is ſaid to have been this, to *follow* (as the word implies) or to go along with the Biſhop in the quality of an *honourable* attendant, to be ready at hand to miniſter to him, and to be a companion and witneſs of his honeſt and unblamable converſation, in caſe any evil fame ſhould ariſe, that might endeavour to blaſt his reputation. But by others he is ſaid to have been a *Taper-bearer* to carry the *Lights*, which were ſet up at the reading of the *Goſpel*. And this ſeems to be clear from the fourth Council of *Carthage*, where at his ordination he is appointed to receive at the *Archdeacons* hand a *Candleſtick* with a *Taper*, that he may know 'tis the duty of his place, to light up the *Lights* in the *Church*. This might very well be in thoſe times, but 'tis certain the Office of *Acolythus* was in uſe long before that cuſtom of ſetting up Lights at the reading of the Goſpel was brought into the Church. By *Cyprian* alſo is mentioned the Office of the **Exorciſt**, whoſe buſineſs was to attend the *Catechumens* and the *Energumeni*, or ſuch as were poſſeſſed of the Devil. For after the miraculous power of caſting out Devils began to ceaſe, or at leaſt not to be ſo common as it was, theſe

Part 1.

Can. 6.

Epiſt. 16. 29. & 146.

Part 1. these possessed persons used to come to the *out-parts* of the Church, where a person was appointed to *exorcise* them, *i. e.* to pray over them in such prayers as were peculiarly composed for those occasions, and this he did in the publick name of the whole Church, the people also at the same time praying within; by which means the possessed person was delivered from the tyranny of the evil spirit; without any such *charms* and *conjurations*, and other *unchristian* forms and rites, which by degrees crept into this Office, and are at this day in use in the Church of *Rome*. Besides, to the *Exorcists* Office it belonged to instruct the *Catechumens*, and to train them up in the first principles of the Christian Faith: in which sense the *Exorcist* is by *Hermenopulus* explained by *Catechist*, and to *exorcise* (says *Balsamon*) is κατηχεῖν ἁπλῶς, to *instruct unbelievers*.

Epist. Can. S. 1. Tit. 9. Jur. Grac. Rom. p. 16. In Can. 26. Conc. Laod.

Next to the *Exorcist* was the *Lector* or **Reader** (mentioned frequently by S. *Cyprian*) whose business was to stand near the *Ambo* or *Pulpit*, and to read those portions of holy Scripture which were appointed to be read as principal parts of the Divine Service. This Office *Julian* (who was afterwards *Emperor*) when

when a young Student at *Nicomedia* took upon him, and became a *Reader* in that Church, which he did only to blind his Cousin *Constantius*, who began to suspect him as inclining to *Paganism*, to which he openly revolted afterwards, and became a bitter and virulent enemy to Christians, making an ill use of those Scriptures, which he had once *privately* studied and *publickly* read to the people. I know not whether it may be worth the while to take notice of the *Ostiarii* or *Door-keepers*, answerable to the *Nethinims* in the *Jewish* Church, who were to attend the Church Doors at times of publick meetings, to keep out notorious *Hereticks*, *Jews*, and *Gentiles* from entring into the Christian Assemblies: it doubtless took its rise in the times of persecutions, Christians then being forc'd to keep their meetings as private and clancular as they could, and to guard their Assemblies with all possible diligence, lest some *Jew* or *Infidel* stealing in, should have gone and accused them before the Magistrate. What other Officers there were (or whether any at all) in those times in and about the Church, will not be worth our labour to enquire.

Part 1.

Socrat. H. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 1. p. 166.

To

Part 1. To these Offices they were set apart by solemn rites of *prayer* and *imposition* of *hands*; a ceremony (so far as χειροτονία is strictly taken for *lifting* up the hand in *suffrage*) commonly used at *Athens*, and some of the *States* of *Greece* in the designing and electing persons to be publick Magistrates. But more particularly in use amongst the *Jews*, and from them doubtless (as many other of the *Synagogue-rites*) transferred into the *Christian* Church, and there constantly used both as to the *lifting up* and *laying on* the hands, as the rite of conferring ordination upon the Ministers of *Christ*. Only it is here to be remembred, that there was a *double imposition* of hands, in setting apart Ecclesiastical Officers: the one was καθιέρωσις, or by way of *consecration*, and this was the proper way of ordaining the first ranck of Officers, *Bishops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*: the other εὐλογία, by way of *blessing*, hands being laid upon them only as in the absolution of Penitents by way of solemn *benediction*, and thus the inferior Officers, *Subdeacons*, *Readers*, *&c.* and *Deaconesses* were set apart: All orders under Bishops were ordained by the Bishop, the Bishop himself by all the Bishops of that *Province*, who

who uſed to meet together for that purpoſe, if nearneſs of place and other conveniencies would allow; otherwiſe *three* (and in caſes of neceſſity *two*) might do it; the reſt teſtifying their conſent in writing, and the perſon thus ordained was to be confirmed by the *Metropolitan* of that Province. And whereas the Council of *Antioch* provides, that no Biſhop ſhall be ordained without the *Metropolitan* being preſent, it is to be underſtood (as *Balſamon* tells us) of his leave and permiſſion, or his appointing it to be ſo. For the ordination of the reſt of the Clergy, *Prieſts*, *Deacons*, *&c.* the act and preſence of one Biſhop might ſuffice: and as no more than one was required, ſo one at leaſt was neceſſary, the power of conferring *order*, being even by thoſe who otherwiſe have had no mighty kindneſs for Epiſcopacy, acknowledged an unqueſtionable *right* of the Epiſcopal Office. Inſomuch that in the caſe of *Athanaſius* it was a juſt exception againſt *Iſchyras*, that he had been ordained by *Caluthus*, who was no higher than a Presbyter, and conſequently his ordination by the council was adjudged null and void. Part 1. *Conc. Nicen. Can.* 4. *Can.* 19. *Athan. Apol.* 2. *de fug. ſua. p.* 570. *Tom.* 1.

At all ordinations, eſpecially of ſuperior

Part. 1. rior Officers, the *people* of the place were always present, and ratified the action with their approbation and consent. And indeed it cannot be denied but that the people in some places especially, were very much considered in this affair, it being seldom or never done without their *presence* and *suffrage*. To this end the Bishop was wont before every ordination to *propound* and *publish* the names of those who were to have holy orders conferred upon them, that so the people who best knew their lives and conversations, might interpose, if they had any thing material to object against it. By which means the *unworthy* were discovered and rejected, the *deserving* honoured and admitted, the ordination became legitimate and satisfactory, having past the common vote and suffrage, without any exception made against it, as *Cyprian* speaks Hence the *Clergie* of what order soever were said *Predicari*, to be *propounded* or published: And this way seemed so fit and reasonable, that *Severus* the *Emperour* (a wise and prudent Prince) in imitation of the *Christians* established it in the disposal of Civil Offices. For when he had a mind to send out any Governours of Provinces, or

Vid. Constit. App. lib. 8. c. 4. p. 1004.

Cypr. Epist. 68. p. 113. 114.

Lamprid. in vit. Alex. Sev. c. 45 p. 570

or to appoint *Receivers* of his *Revenues*, he propounded the names of those he intended, desiring the people to except against the persons, if they knew them guilty of any crimes which they were able to make good against them: *affirming it to be unfit* (says his own *Historian*) *that when the Christians and Jews did it in publishing those who were to be ordained their Priests and Ministers, the same should not be observed in the election of Governours of Provinces, who had the lives and fortunes of men committed to them.* When the case so hapned that the ordination was more remote or private, they were then required to bring sufficient *testimonials*; thus *Cyprian* when ordaining *Saturus* and *Optatus* to be *Readers*, we examined, *says he*, whether the *Testimonials* agreed to them, which they ought to have, who are admitted into the Clergy. Part 1. *Epist.* 24. *p.* 35.

And indeed they proceeded in this affair with all imaginable care and prudence; they examined mens fitness for the place to which they were set apart, enquired severely what had been the course and manner of their life, how they had carried themselves in their youth, and whether they had governed *Basil. Epist.* 181. *p.* 194 *Tom.* 3.

Part 1. it by the ſtrict rules of piety. This ancient cuſtom (as S. *Baſil* calls it) was ratified by the *Nicene* Council, declaring *that none ſhould be ordained Presbyter without previous examination, eſpecially a ſtrict enquiry into his life and manners.* For the *Apoſtolic* Church (ſays *Joſeph* the *Egyptian* in his *Arabic* Paraphraſe of that *Canon*) admits none in this caſe, but him that is of great innocency and an unſpotted life, free from thoſe crimes and enormities which he there particularly reckons up. They ſuffered not men in thoſe days to *leap* into Eccleſiaſtical Orders, but by the uſual ſteps, and ſtaying the appointed times. *Cyprian* commmends *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome*, that he did not skip into the Chair, but paſſed through all the Eccleſiaſtical Offices, aſcending through all the degrees of Religion, till he came *ad ſacerdotii ſublime faſtigium*, to the top of the higheſt order. A thing expreſly provided for by the Synod of *Sardis*, that no man though never ſo *rich*, though furniſhed with never ſo good a knack of *ſpeech* and *oratory*, ſhould yet be made Biſhop before he had paſſed through the preceding Orders of *Reader*, *Subdeacon*, *Deacon*, and *Presbyter*, that having been found

Can. 9.

Ad Antonian. Epiſt. 52. p. 67.

Can. 10.

found fit in each of these, he might step Part 1.
by step ascend up to the Episcopal Chair: annd that he should spend some considerable time in each of these degrees, that so his faith, and the innocency and excellency of his life, his constancy and moderation might be made known to all, and his fitness for that sacred function being made apparent might procure him the greater honour and reverence from others. Men were then forced to stay their full time before they could be promoted to any higher Order; they did not commence *Divines* and *Bishops* in a *day* (ἀυθήμερον ἄγιοι καὶ θεολόγοι, as *Nazianzen* elegantly calls them) like some he complains of in his his time, who were not polished by time and study, but fitted and made Bishops *all at once*; whom therefore he wittily compares to the *Dragons teeth*, which the Fable tells us *Cadmus* sowed at *Thebes*, which immediately sprung up *Giants* out of the earth, arm'd *Cap-a-pe*, perfect *men* and perfect *Warriours* in one day: and just such, *says he*, were some Prelates, consecrated, made wise and learned in one day, who yet understood nothing before, nor brought any thing to the *Order*, but only a *good will* to be there.

Orat. 1 de Theol. p. 535. & in laud. Bas. Or. 20. p. 335.

Part 1. For the *Age* of the persons that were to be ordained, they usually observed the *Apostolic* Canon, *not to chuse a Novice*, but of an age competent to that Office, that he was chosen to; though it varied according to times and persons, and the occasions of the Church. For that of *Bishops*, I find not any certain age positively set down. *Photius* in his *Nomo-Canon* speaks of an *Imperial* constitution that requires a Bishop not to be under *thirty five*: but the *Apostolical Constitutions* allow not a man to be made a Bishop under *fifty* years of age, as having then passed all *juvenile* petulancies and disorders. 'Tis certain they were not generally (some extraordinary instances alter not the case) promoted to that Office, till they were of a considerable age, and thence frequently stiled *majores natu* in the Writings of the Church. *Presbyters* were commonly made at *thirty*; yea the Council of *Neocæsarea* decreed, that no man though otherwise of never so unquestionable a conversation, should be ordained Presbyter before that *age*; the reason whereof they give, because *Christ* himself was not *baptized*, nor began to *preach* till the thirtieth year of his age. The Council of *Agde* requires the

Τίτλ. ά. κεφ. κή. p. 20.

Lib. 2. c. 1. p. 824.

Can. 11.

Can. 17.

the ſame age, but aſſigns another reaſon, Part 1.
not before thirty years of age, becauſe then, *ſay they*, he comes to the age of a *perfect man*. *Deacons* were made at *twenty five*, and the like diſtance and proportion obſerved for the inferior Officers under them. I take no notice in this place of *Monks*, *Hermits*, *&c.* partly becauſe, although they were under a kind of *Eccleſiaſtical* relation, by reaſon of their more than ordinarily ſtrict and ſevere profeſſion of Religion, yet were they not uſually in *holy Orders*; and partly becauſe *Monachiſm* was of no very early ſtanding in the Church, beginnig probably about the times of the later perſecutions; and even then too *Monks* were quite another thing, both in *profeſſion*, *habit*, and *way* of *life*, from what they are at this day, as will abundantly appear to him that will take the pains to compare the account which S. *Hierom*, *Auguſtine*, *Palladius*, *Caſſian*, and others give of thoſe *primitive Monks*, with the ſeveral *Orders* in the Church of *Rome* at this day.

I ſhall only add, that out of the *Monks* perſons were uſually made choice of to be advanced into the *Clergie*, as is evident not only from multitudes of in-

Part 1. ſtances in the Writers of the fourth, and following Centuries, but from an expreſs Law of the Emperour *Arcadius* to that purpoſe: the ſtrictneſs of their lives, and the purity of their manners more immediately qualifying them for thoſe holy Offices; inſomuch that many times they were advanced unto the Epiſcopal Chair, without going through the uſual intermediate Orders of the Church: ſeveral inſtances whereof (*Serapion*, *Apollonius*, *Agatho*, *Ariſto*, and ſome others) *Athanaſius* reckons up in his Epiſtle to *Dracontius*, who being a *Monck* refuſed a *Biſhoprick* to which he was choſen. But becauſe we meet in the ancient Writings of the Church with very frequent mention of perſons of another Sex, *Deaconeſſes*, who were employed in many Offices of Religion, it may not be amiſs in this place to give ſome ſhort account of them. Their original was very early, and of equal ſtanding with the infancy of the Church; ſuch was *Phebe* in the Church of *Cenchris*, mentioned by S. *Paul*; ſuch were thoſe two *Servant-maids* ſpoken of by *Pliny* in his Letter to the Emperour, whom he examined upon the Rack; ſuch was the famous *Olympias* in the Church of *Conſtantinople*, not to mention

Cod. Theod. lib. 16 Tit. 2. de Epiſcopis, &c. l. 32.

Tom. 1. p. 738.

mention any more particular instances. They were either *Widows*, and then not to be taken into the service of the Church under *threescore* years of age, according to S. *Paul*'s direction; or else *Virgins*, who having been educated in order to it, and given testimony of a chast and sober conversation, were set apart at *forty*: what the proper place and ministry of these *Deaconesses* was in the ancient Church, though *Matthew Blastares* seems to render a little doubtful, yet certainly it principally consisted in such offices as these; to attend upon the Women at times of Publick Worship, especially in the administration of Baptism, that when they were to be divested in order to their *immersion*, they might *overshadow* them, so as nothing of indecency and uncomlines might appear; sometimes they were employed in *instructing* the more rude and ignorant sort of women, in the plain and easie principles of *Christianity*, and in preparing them for *Baptism*; otherwhiles in *visiting* and attending upon Women that were sick, in *conveying* messages, counsels, consolations, relief (especially in times of persecution, when it was dangerous for the *Officers* of the Church) to

Part 1.

Syntagm. c. 11. lit. T. p. 71.

Epiph. Haref 79. p. 447.

Cl. Alex. Strom. lib. 3. p. 448. Concil. 4. Carthag Can. 12.

Part 1. the *Martyrs* and them that were in Prison; and of these women no doubt it was that *Libanius* speaks of amongst the Christians, who were so very ready to be employed in these offices of *humanity*. But to return.

Orat de vinctis. p. 56.

Persons being thus set apart for holy Offices, the Christians of those days discovered no less piety in that mighty *respect* and *reverence* which they paid to them; that the Ministers of Religion should be peculiarly *honoured* and regarded, seems to have been accounted a piece of natural *justice* by the common sentiments of mankind; the most barbarous and unpolished Nations that ever had a value for any thing of Religion, have always had a proportionable regard to them, to whom the care and administration of it did belong. *Julian* the *Emperour* expressly pleads for it as the most reasonable thing in the world, that *Priests* should be honoured, yea in some respects *above* civil Magistrates, as being the immediate attendants and *domestick* servants of *God*, our *intercessors* with Heaven, and the means of deriving down great blessings from God upon us. But never was this clearlier demonstrated than in the practice of the primitive

Julian. fragm. Oper. p. 1. p. 542.

primitive Chriſtians, who carried themſelves towards their *Biſhops* and *Miniſters*, with all that kindneſs and veneration which they were capable to expreſs towards them. S. *Paul* bears record to the *Galatians*, that he was accounted ſo dear to them, that if the *plucking out their eyes* would have done him any good, they were ready to have done it for his ſake; and S. *Clement* teſtifies of the *Corinthians*, that they walked in the Laws of God, being ſubject to them that had the *rule over them*; yielding alſo due honour to the ſeniors or *elder* perſons that were amongſt them. That by ἡγούμενοι in this place he ſhould mean *Civil Magiſtrates* (as ſome have told us) I can hardly be perſwaded, both becauſe 'tis the *ſame* word that's uſed by the Author to the *Hebrews*, *obey* τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν *them that have the rule over you, and ſubmit your ſelves* (and indeed both *Euſebius* and S. *Hierom* of old obſerved ſuch a mighty affinity in the *phraſe* between this and the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, as certainly to conclude S. *Clemens* to have been, if not the *Author*, at leaſt the *Tranſlator* of that Epiſtle) and alſo becauſe the ſole occaſion of S. *Clements* writing this Epiſtle was a mutiny which they had

Part 1.

Gal. 4. 15.

Pag. 2.

Heb. 13. 17

H. Eccl. lib. 3. c 38 p. 110. de Script. Eccl. u. Clem.

Part 1. had made against their *spiritual* Guides and Governours, and therefore according to the right art of *Orators*, he first commends them for their eminent subjection to them, that he might with the more advantage reprove and censure them for their schism afterwards, which he does severely in the latter part of the Epistle, and towards the end of it exhorts those who had laid the foundation of the Sedition, to become subject to their Presbyters; and being instructed to repentance, to bow the knees of their hearts, to lay aside the *arrogant* and *insolent* boldness of their tongues, and to learn to subject and submit themselves. The truth is Bishops and Ministers were then looked upon as the common *Parents* of Christians, whom as such they honoured and obeyed, and to whom they repaired for counsel and direction in all important cases. 'Tis plain from several passages in *Tertullian*, that none could lawfully *marry* till they had first advised with the Bishop and Clergy of the Church, and had asked and obtained their leave; which probably they did to secure the person from marrying with a *Gentile*, or any of them that were without, and from the inconveniencies that

Vid. Constit. Ap. lib. 2. c. 33. p. 859.

De monogam. c. 11. p. 531.

Ad Uxor. l. 2. c. 2. 9.

Vid. de Coron. mil. c. 13. p. 139.

that might ensue upon such a match. No respect, no submission was thought great enough, whereby they might do honour to them, they were wont to *kiss* their hands, to *embrace* their feet, and at their going from, or returning home, or indeed their coming unto any place, to wait upon them, and either to receive or dismiss them with the universal confluence of the people. Happy they thought themselves if they could but entertain them in their houses, and bless their roofs with such welcome guests. Amongst the various ways of kindness which *Constantine* the Great shewed to the *Clergie*, the *Writer* of his life tells us, that he used to treat them at his own *Table*, though in the meanest and most despicable habit, and never went a *journey*, but he took some of them along with him, reckoning that thereby he made himself surer of the propitious and favourable influence of the divine presence. What honours he did them at the Council of *Nice*, where he refused to sit down, till they had given him intimation, with what magnificent gifts and entertainments he treated them afterwards, the same Author relates at large. The truth is, the piety of that devout

Part 1.

Vid. Chrysost. de S. Meler. Antioch. Hom. 45. tom. 1. p. 526. & Annot. p. 91

De vit. Constant. lib. 1. c. 42. p. 429.

Lib. 3.

Part 1. devout and excellent Prince thought nothing too good for those who were the messengers of God, and ministers of holy things, and so infinitely tender was he of their honour, as to profess, that if at any time he should spye a *Bishop* overtaken in an immodest and uncomly action, he would cover him with his own *imperial Robe*, rather than others should take notice of it, to the scandal of his place and person. And because their *spiritual* authority and relation might not be sufficient to secure them from the contempt of rude and prophane persons, therefore the first Christian Emperours invested them with power even in *Civil* cases, as the way to beget them respect and authority amongst the people. Thus *Constantine*, (as *Sozomon* tells us, and he sets it down as a great argument of that Princes reverence for Religion) ordained, that persons contending in Law, might if they pleased remove their cause out of the *Civil* Courts, and appeal to the *judgment* of the Bishops, whose sentence should be *firm*, and take place before that of any other Judges, as if it had been immediately passed by the Emperour himself; and cases thus judged by *Bishops*,

Theodor. Hist. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 11.

H. Eccles. lib. 1. c. 9. p. 413.

Biſhops, all Governours of Provinces and their Officers were preſently to put into execution; which was afterwards ratified by two Laws, one of *Arcadius*, another of *Honorius* to that purpoſe. This power the Biſhops ſometimes *delegated* to their inferior Clergy, making them Judges in theſe caſes, as appears from what *Socrates* reports of *Silvanus* Biſhop of *Troas*, that finding a *male-adminiſtration* of this power, he took it out of the hands of his *Clergie*, and devolved the hearing and determining cauſes over to the *Laity*. And to name no more, S. *Auguſtine* more than once and again tells us, how much he was crowded and even oppreſſed in deciding the conteſts and cauſes of ſecular perſons. It ſeems they thought themſelves happy in thoſe days, if they could have their cauſes heard and determined by *Biſhops*.

Part 1.

C. Tit. 4. de Epiſc. Audient. l. 7. 8.

H. Eccleſ. lib. 7. c. 37. p. 383.

Epiſt. 147. col. 685. vid Epiſt. Nebrid. ad Aug. Ep. 114. & alibi paſſim.

A pious Biſhop, and a faithful Miniſter was in thoſe days dearer to them than the moſt valuable bleſſings upon earth, and they could want any thing rather than be without them; when *Chryſoſtom* was driven by the *Empreſs* into baniſhment, the people as he went along burſt into tears, and cryed out, *'twas better the Sun ſhould not ſhine, than that* John Chryſoſtom

Chryſoſt. Ep. 125. tom. 4. p. 763.

Part 1. ſoſtom *ſhould not preach*; and when through the importunity of the people he was recalled from his former baniſhment, and diverted into the *Suburbs* till he might have an opportunity to make a publick vindication of his innocency, the people not enduring ſuch delays, the Emperour was forced to ſend for him into the City; the people univerſally meeting him, and conducting him to his Church, with all expreſſions of reverence and veneration. Nay while he was yet *Presbyter* of the Church of *Antioch*, ſo highly was he loved and honoured by the people of that place, that though he was choſen to the *See* of *Conſtantinople*, and ſent for by the Emperours Letters, though their Biſhop made an Oration on purpoſe to perſwade them to it, yet would they by no means be brought to part with him; and when the Meſſengers by force attempted to bring him away, he was forced, to prevent a tumult, to withdraw and hide himſelf; the people keeping a Guard about him, leſt he ſhould be taken from them: nor could the Emperour or his Agents with all their arts effect it, till he uſed this wile, he ſecretly wrote to the Governour of *Antioch*, who pretending

Socrat. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 6. c. 16. p. 324.

Metaphraſt. in vit. Chryſoſtomi apud Surium ad diem 27. Jan. tom. 1.

tending to *Chryſoſtom*, that he had concerns of moment to impart to him, invited him to a private place without the City, where ſeizing upon him, by Mules which he had in readineſs, he conveyed him to *Conſtantinople*; where that his welcome might be the more magnificent, the Emperour commanded that all perſons of eminency, both *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Civil*, ſhould with all poſſible pomp and ſtate go *ſix miles* to meet him. Of *Nazianzen* (who ſat in the ſame Chair of *Conſtantinople* before him) I find, that when he would have left that Biſhoprick by reaſon of the ſtirs that were about it, and delivered up himſelf to ſolitude and a private life, as a thing much more ſuitable to his humour and *genius*, many of the people came about him, with tears beſeeching him not to forſake his Flock, which he had hitherto fed with ſo much ſweat and labour. They could not then loſe their ſpiritual Guides, but they looked upon themſelves as *Widows* and *Orphans*, reſenting their death with a general ſorrow and lamentation, as if they had loſt a *common Father*. *Nazianzen* reports, that when his *Father* (who was Biſhop of but a little *Dioceſs*) lay very ſick, and all other remedies proved unſuc-

Part 1.

Greg. Presb. de vit. Gregor. Nazian. præfix. oper. Naz.

In laud. patr. Or. 19 p. 304.

Part 1. unsuccessful, the people generally flocked to Church (and though it was then the *joyful* time of *Easter*) broke out into mournful and passionate complaints, and with the most earnest prayers and tears besought God for his life. And of *Basil* Bishop of *Cæsarea* he tells us, that when he lay a dying, the whole City came about him, not able to bear his departure from them, praying as if they would have *laid hands* upon his soul, and by force detained it in his body; they were (*says he*) even distracted with the thoughts of so great a loss, nor was there any who would not have been willing to have been deprived of *part* of his own life, might it have added unto his. His Funeral was solemnized with all possible testimonies of love and honourable attendance, and with the abundant tears not only of *Christians*, but of *Jews* and *Heathens*; the confluence so vast, that many were pressed to death in the crowd, and sent to bear him *company* to his *long home*. And that we may see that their respect did not lye meerly in a few kind words, or external protestations, they made it good in more real and evident demonstrations, by providing *liberal maintenance* for them, parting

In laud. Basil. Or. 20. p. 371.

ing at first with their own estates to supply the uses of the Church, and after that making no less large than frequent contributions, which could not but amount to very considerable sums, the piety of Christians daily adding to their liberality; of which we may make some estimate by what the *Heathen* Historian with a little kind of envy relates only of the Church of *Rome* (and doubtless it was so in some proportion in other places) that the profits of the *Clergie* arising from *oblations* chiefly was so great as to enable them to live in a *Prince like* state and plenty. And not long after it became the object not only of admiration but envy, insomuch that *Chrysostom* was forced to make one whole Sermon *against those that envied the wealth of the Clergie.* It was also the great care of those times, to free them from what might be either *scandalous* or *burdensom* to their calling. *Constantine* decreed, that the Orthodox Clergy should be exempt from all Civil Offices, or whatever might hinder their attendance upon the services of the Church: his Son *Constantius*, that Bishops in many cases should not be chargeable in the secular Courts, but be tryed in an Assembly of

Part 1.

Amm. Marcellin. lib. 27. p. 1739

περὶ τῆς ὀργῆς ἃ χρὴ ὀνειδίζειν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὑπὲρ ὧν ζῶσιν, &c. *Tom. 6. p. 896. edit. Savil.*

Euseb Hist. Eccl. lib 10 c. 7. p. 304. & Cod. Theod. lib. 16. Tit. 2. leg. 1. 2. Ib. L. 12. Ib. L. 21.

Part 1. Bishops, which priviledge was extended by *Honorius* to all the *Clergie*, that they should be tryed before their Bishops; before whom also he ordained, that all causes properly belonging to Religion should be brought, and be determined by them; and by another *constitution*, that for the veneration that is due to the Church, all Ecclesiastical causes should be decided with all possible speed; and to name no more, that the persons of Ministers might be secured from foreign attempts, he and his Colleague *Arcadius* made a Law, that whosoever did offer any *violence* to them, should upon conviction or confession of the fact be punished with *death*; and that the administers of Civil justice should not stay till the Bishop complained of the injury that was done (it being probable that he would rather incline to *mercy* and *forgiveness*) but that every one in this case should be admitted and encouraged to prefer and prosecute the charge: and in case the rude multitude should by arms or otherwise obstruct execution, and that the powers of that place could not see it done, that then they should call in the assistance of the Governour of the Province, to see Justice put into execution.

Ib Tit. 11. *l.* 1.

Ib. lib. 2. *Tit.* 4. *l.* 7.

Lib. 16. *Tit.* 2. *l* 31.

tion. And because next to his *person* nothing is so dear to a *Clergie-man* as his *credit* and reputation, therefore the Emperour *Honorius* took care by a Law, that whosoever (be he a person of the *highest* rank) should charge any *Clergie-man* with Crimes which he was not able to make good, he himself should be publickly accounted vile and infamous, it being but just and equal (*says the Law*) that as guilt should be punished, and offenders reckoned as spots and blemishes to the Church, so that injured innocency should be righted and maintained. How infinitely tender the first general Council of *Constantinople* was in this case, to secure the honour and good name of *Bishops* and *Clergie-men*, against the malicious insinuations and charges of false accusers, may appear by the large provision which they make about it in the *sixth Canon* of that Council. And because it sometimes so happens, that a mans enemies are those of his own house, therefore the *Apostolical Canons* ordain, that if any Clergy-man reproach and defame a Bishop, he shall be deposed from his Ministry, for *thou mayest not* (says the Canon) *speak evil of the Ruler of thy people*; but if it be a *Presbyter* or *Deacon*, Part 1. *Ibid. L.* 41. *Can.* 55. 56.

Part I. whom he thus reproaches, he ſhall be ſuſpended from the execution of his office. So ſacred and venerable did they then account the perſons and concernments of thoſe who miniſtred in the affairs of Divine Worſhip.

CHAP. IX.

Of their uſual Worſhip, both private and publick.

The Chriſtians worſhip of God in their Families diſcovered. Their uſual times of prayer. Praying before and after meals. Singing of Pſalms, and reading the Scriptures at the ſame time. Frequency in prayer noted in divers inſtances. Their great reverence for the holy Scriptures, in reading, expounding, committing them to memory. Several inſtances of it. Their care in inſtructing their Fmilies in divine things. Singing of Pſalms mixed with their uſual labours. An account of their publick Worſhip. The order of the Service in their Aſſemblies. Prayer: Reading the Scriptures: Two Leſſons out of each Teſtament. Clemens

mens *his Epiſtle, and the Writings of other pious men read in the Church. Singing a part of the publick Service. How ancient: What thoſe Hymns were. The Sermon or diſcourſe, upon what ſubject uſually. Such diſcourſes called* Tractatus, *and why. More Sermons than one at the ſame time. Sermons preached in the afternoon as well as in the morning. The mighty concourſe and confluence of people to theſe publick Solemnities. The departure of the Catechumens, Penitents, &c. The* Miſſa Catechumenorum, *what. The* Miſſa Fidelium. *The word* miſſa *or* maſſe, *whence, and how uſed in the Writers of thoſe times. The ſingular reverence they ſhewed in theſe Duties. Great modeſty and humility. Praying with hands lift up in the form of a Croſs, why. They prayed either kneeling or ſtanding. Sitting in prayer noted as a poſture of great irreverence. Praying towards the Eaſt. The univerſality of this Cuſtom. The reaſons of it enquired into. Their reverence in hearing Gods Word. The people generally ſtood. Standing up at the Goſpels. The remarkable piety and devotion of* Conſtantine *the Great. No departing the Congregation till the bleſſing was given.* Part 1.

Part 1.

THus far we have discovered the piety of those ancient times, as to those necessary *circumstances* that relate to the Worship of God, we are next to see wherein their **Worship** it self did consist, which we shall consider both as *private* and *publick*, that which they performed at home, and that which was done in their solemn and *Church-Assemblies*, only let it be remembred, that under the notion of Worship I here comprehend all those duties of *piety* that refer to God: the duties of their *private* worship were of two sorts, either such as were more *solemn* and stated, and concerned the whole Family, or such as persons discharged *alone*, or at least did not tye up themselves to usual times: For the first, which are properly *Family duties*, they were usually performed in this order; at their first rising in the morning, they were wont to meet together, and to betake themselves to *prayer* (as is plainly implied in *Chrysostoms* exhortation) to praise God for the protection and refreshment of the night, and to beg his grace and blessing for the following day: this was done by the *Master* of the house, unless some

Hom 1 de precat tom. 1. p. 750. vid. Basil. Ep. ad Greg. de vit solit. tom. 3. p. 43 A.

Minister

Minister of Religion were present: 'tis probable that at this time they recited the *Creed*, or some confession of their Faith, by which they professed themselves *Christians*, and as 'twere armed themselves against the assaults of dangers and temptations; however I question not, but that now they read some parts of *Scripture*, which they were most ready to do at all times, and therefore certainly would not omit it now. That they had their *set hours* for prayer, the *third*, *sixth*, and *ninth* hour, is plain both from *Cyprian*, *Clem. Alexandrinus*, and others: this they borrowed from the *Jews*, who divided the day into four *greater hours*, the *first*, *third*, *sixth*, and *ninth* hour, three last whereof were stated hours of prayer; the first hour began at six in the morning, and held till nine; the third from nine till twelve; and at this hour it was that the *Apostles* and *Christians* were met together, when the *Holy Ghost* descended upon them; the sixth hour was from twelve till three in the *afternoon*, and at this time *Peter went up to the house top to pray*; the ninth was from three till six at night, and now it was that *Peter* and *John* went up to the Temple, *it being the ninth hour of*

Part 1.

De Orat. dom p. 106 Strom lib. 7. p 722.

Part 1. *prayer*; this division was observed by the *Christians* of succeeding times, though whether punctually kept to in their *Family devotions* I am not able to affirm. About *noon* before their going to dinner some portions of *Scripture* were read, and the meat being set upon the *Table*, a *blessing* was solemnly begged of God, as the fountain of all blessings (and so religious herein was the good Emperour *Theodosius junior*, that he would never taste any meat, no not so much as a Fig, or any other Fruit, before he had first given thanks to the great *Soveraign Creator*) and both meat and drink set apart with the *sign* of the *Cross* (a custom they used in the most common actions of life) as is expressly affirmed both by *Tertullian* and *Origen*, where he also gives a form of such prayers as they were wont to use before meals, *viz.* that lifting up their eyes to Heaven, they prayed thus, *Thou that givest food to all flesh, grant that we may receive this food with thy blessing; thou Lord hast said, that if we drink any thing that is deadly, if we call upon thy name it shall not hurt us, thou therefore who art Lord of all power and glory, turn away all evil and malignant quality from our food, and what*

Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 7. p. 728.
Tert. Apol. c. 39. p. 32.
Sozom. præfat. ad Hist. Eccl. p. 395.
De Cor. mil. c. 3. p. 102 lib. 2. in Job fol. 36 col. 2. tom. 2.

what ever pernicious influence it may have upon us; when they were at dinner, they ſung *Hymns* and *Pſalms*; a practice which *Clem. Alexandrinus* commends as very ſuitable to *Chriſtians*, as a modeſt and decent way of praiſing God, while we are partaking of his Creatures. *Chryſoſtom* greatly pleads for it, that men ſhould be careful to teach them their Wives and Children, and which they ſhould uſe even at their *ordinary* works, but eſpecially at *meals*, ſuch divine Songs being an excellent *antidote* againſt temptations; for (*ſays he*) as the Devil is never more ready to enſnare us than at *meals*, either by *intemperance*, *eaſe*, or immoderate *mirth*, therefore both before and at *meals* we ſhould fortifie our ſelves with *Pſalms*, nay and when we riſe from the Table with our Wives and Children, we ſhould again ſing *Hymns* to God. They uſed alſo to have the *Scriptures* read, and as I have elſewhere noted out of *Nazianzen*, every time they took the *Cup* to drink, made the ſign of the *Croſs* and called upon *Chriſt*. Dinner being ended, they concluded with *prayer*, giving thanks to God for their preſent refreſhment, and begging his continued proviſion of thoſe good things which he had

Part 1.

Pædag. lib. 2. *c.* 4. *p.* 165.

In Pſalm. 41 *tom.* 3. *p.* 147.

Cypr. Epiſt. 1 *p.* 7. *Clem. Alex. ut ſupra.*

Baſil. Ep. ad Greg. tom. 3. *p.* 46

Part 1. had promiſed to them: So great a place had *Religion* in thoſe days even in mens common and natural actions, and ſo careful were they not to *ſtarve* the ſoul, while they were *feeding* of the body: Much after the ſame rate they ſpent the reſt of the day, till the night approached, when before their going to reſt, the Family was again called to *prayer*, after which they went to bed; about *mid-night* they were generally wont to riſe to *pray* and to ſing *hymns* to God; this cuſtom was very ancient, and doubtleſs took its original from the firſt times of perſecution, when not daring to meet together in the *day*, they were forced to keep their religious Aſſemblies in the *night*; and though this was afterwards antiquated, as being found inconvenient for the generality of *Chriſtians*, yet did it ſtill continue in the *nocturnal* hours of *Monaſteries* and religious *Orders*.

Clem. Alex. pædag. lib. 2. c. 9. p. 185.

But beſides theſe ſtated and ordinary devotions, performed by a joint concurrence of the Family, the Chriſtians of thoſe days were careful to ſpend all the time they could even when alone in actions of piety and religion: they were moſt frequent in *prayer*; *Euſebius* reports of S. *James* the *juſt*, that he was wont every

Hiſt. Eccl. lib 2. c. 23. p. 63. ex Hegeſippo.

every day to go alone into the Church, and there *kneeling* upon the pavement ſo long to pour out his prayers to God, till his knees became as *hard* and *brawny* as a *Camels*; the ſame which *Nazianzen* alſo tells us of his good Siſter *Gorgonia*, that by often praying her knees were become hard, and did as 'twere ſtick to the ground. *Conſtantine* the Great though burdened with the cares of ſo vaſt an Empire, did yet every day at his wonted hours withdraw from all the company of the *Court*, retire into his *Cloſet*, and upon his knees offer up his prayers to God; and to let the world know how much he was devoted to this duty, he cauſed his *Image* in all his Gold *Coins*, in his *Pictures* and *Statues* to be repreſented in the poſture of a *perſon praying, with his hands ſpread abroad, and his eyes liſt up to Heaven.* Their next care was diligently and ſeriouſly to read the *Scripture*, to be mighty in the Divine *Oracles*, as indeed they had an invaluable eſteem of and reverence for the Word of God, as the Book which they infinitely prized beyond all others; upon which account *Nazianzen* very ſeverely chides his dear friend *Gregory Nyſſen*, that having laid aſide the holy

Part 1.

In laud. Gorgon. Or. 10. *p.* 183.

De vit. Conſt. lib. 4. *c.* 22.

Ibid. c 15. *p* 533.

Epiſt. 43. *p.* 804.

Scriptures

Part 1. Scriptures (the most excellent Writings in the world) which he was wont to read both *privately* to himself, and *publickly* to the people, he had given up himself to the study of *foreign* and prophane Authors, desirous rather to be accounted an *Orator* than a *Christian*. S. *Augustine* tells us, that after his conversion (how meanly soever he had before thought of them) the *Scriptures* were become the matter of his most *pure* and *chaste* delight, in respect whereof all other Books (even those of *Cicero* himself, which once he had so much doted on) became dry and unsavoury to him. In the study of this Book it was that Christians then mainly exercised themselves, as thinking they could never fully enough *understand* it, or deeply enough *imprint* it upon their hearts and memories. Of the younger *Theodosius* they tell us, that rising early every morning, he together with his Sisters interchangeably sung *Psalms* of praise to God; the holy Scriptures he could exactly *repeat* in any part of them, and was wont to discourse out of them with the Bishops that were at *Court*, as readily as if he had been an old Bishop *himself*. We read of *Origen*, though then but a child, that

Vid. Confess. lib. 3. c. 5. & l. 7. c. 20. 21.

Socrat. H. Eccles. lib. 7. c. 22. p. 361.

Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 2 p. 202.

that when his Father commanded him to commit some places of Scripture to *memory*, he most willingly set himself to it, and not content with the bare reading, he begun to enquire into the more profound and recondite meaning of it, often asking his Father (to his no less *joy* than *admiration*) what the sense of this or that place of Scripture was; and this thirst after divine knowledge still continued and encreased in him all his life, S. *Hierom* reporting it out of a Letter of one that was his great *companion* and benefactor, that he never went to *meals* without some part of Scripture read, never to *sleep*, till some about him had read them to him, and that both by *night* and *day* no sooner had he done praying but he betook himself to reading, and after reading returned again to prayer. *Valens* Deacon of the Church of *Jerusalem*, a venerable old man, had so entirely given up himself to the study of the Scriptures, that it was all one to him to *read*, or to *repeat* whole pages together. The like we find of *John* an *Egyptian* Confessor (whom *Eusebius* saw and heard) that though both his *eyes* were put out, and his body mangled with unheard of cruelty, yet he was able at any

Part 1.

Ep. ad Marcell. tom. 1. p. 129.

Euseb. de Martyr. Palest. c. 11. p. 336.

Ib. c. ult. p. 334.

Part 1. any time to repeat any places or passages either out of the *old* or *new* Testament; which when I first heard him do in the publick Congregation, I supposed him (*says he*) to have been reading in a Book, till coming near, and finding how it was, I was struck with great admiration at it. Certainly Christians then had no mean esteem of, took no small delight in these sacred Volumes: for the sake of this Book (which he had chosen to be the *companion* and *counsellor* of his life) *Nazianzen* professes he had willingly undervalued and relinquished all other things; this was the *mine* where they enriched themselves with divine *treasures*, a Book where they furnished themselves with a true stock of knowledge; as S. *Hierom* speaks of *Nepotian*, that by daily reading and meditation she had made her soul a *Library* of *Christ*; and he tells us of *Blesilla* a devout Widow, that though she was so far over-run with weakness and sickness, that her *foot* would scarce bear her *body*, or her *neck* sustain the burden of her *head*, yet she was never found without a *Bible* in her *hand*.

De pace. Or. 12. p. 193.

Epitaph. Nepot. tom. 1. p. 25.

Ep. ad Paul. p. 157.

Nor did they covetously hoard up, and reserve this excellent knowledge to

to *themselves*, but freely *communicated* it to others, especially were careful to *catechise* and instruct their *Children* and *Servants* in the principles of Religion. Part 1. *Pag.* 3.

S. *Clemens* praises the *Corinthians* that they took care to admonish their young men to follow those things that were modest and comly, and accordingly exhorts them to instruct the *younger* in the knowledge of the fear of God, to make their children partakers of the discipline of *Christ*, to teach them how much humility and a chast love do prevail with God, that the fear of him is good and useful, and preserves all those who with pure thoughts lead a holy life according to his will. *Ib.* p. 31.

The *Historian* observes of *Constantine*, that his first and greatest care towards his *Sons*, was to secure the happiness of their *souls*, by sowing the seeds of *piety* in their minds, which he did partly himself, instructing them in the knowledge of divine things, and partly by appointing such *Tutors* as were most approved for Religion: and when he had taken them into a partnership of the Government, and either by private admonitions, or by Letters gave them counsels for the steering themselves, this was always the first and chief, that they *De vit. Const. lib.* 4. c. 51. *Ib.* c. 52. p. 552.

should

Part 1. ſhould prefer the knowledge and worſhip of *God*, the great *King* of the world, before all other advantages, yea before the *Empire* it ſelf. For this *Nazianzen* peculiarly commends his Mother, that not only ſhe her ſelf was *conſecrated* to God, and brought up under a pious education, but that ſhe conveyed it down as a neceſſary inheritance to her *Children*; and it ſeems her Daughter *Gorgonia* was ſo well ſeaſoned with theſe holy principles, that ſhe religiouſly walked in the ſteps of ſo good a pattern, and did not only reclaim her *Husband*, but educated her *Children* and *Nephews* in the ways of Religion, giving them an excellent example while ſhe *lived*, and leaving this as her laſt charge and requeſt when ſhe *died*. This was the *diſcipline* under which *Chriſtians* were brought up in thoſe times, Religion was inſtilled into them betimes, which grew up and mixed it ſelf with their ordinary labours and recreations, inſomuch that the moſt rude and illiterate perſons inſtead of prophane wanton *Songs*, which *vitiate* and corrupt the minds of men as *Chryſoſtom* calls them, *Songs of the Devils compoſure*) uſed nothing but *ſpiritual* and divine *Hymns*, ſo that

In laud. Caſarii Or. 10. p. 161.

Id. Or. 11. p. 180.

In Pſalm. 117 *tom.* 3 p. 358. τὰς σαλαγικὰς ᾠδὰς

that (as *Hierom* relates of the place where he lived) you could not go into the field, but you might hear the *Plowman* at his *Halelujahs*, the *Mower* at his *Hymns*, and the *Vine-Dresser* singing *Davids Psalms*. Part 1. *Ep. ad Marcell. tom. 1. p. 127.*

Thus they carried themselves at home, what they did in publick in their *Church-Assemblies*, on the Lords-day especially, is next to be considered; the manner whereof I shall briefly represent, as it generally and for the most part obtained in those Ages, for it could not but vary something according to *time* and *place*. And here I should save my self the trouble of any further search, by setting down the account which *Justin Martyr* and *Tertullian* give of their *publick* Worship in their *Apologies* for the Christians, but that I am satisfied they did not design to give a perfect and punctual account of what was done at their religious Assemblies, as might sufficiently appear from this one thing, that the first of them in those places speaks not any thing of their *Hymns* and *Psalms*, which yet that they were (even in the times wherein they lived) a constant part of the *Divine Service*, no man that is not wholly a stranger in Church-Antiquity

Part 1. tiquity can be ignorant of. I ſhall therefore out of them and others pick up and put together what ſeems to have conſtituted the main body of their publick duties, and repreſent them in that order wherein they were performed, which uſually was in this manner. At their firſt coming together into the *Congregation*, they began with *Prayer*, as *Tertullian* at leaſt probably intimates (for I do not find it in any beſides him) we come together (*ſays he*) unto God, that being *banded* as 'twere into an *Army* we may beſiege him with our prayers and petitions; a *violence* which is very pleaſing and grateful to him; I do not from hence poſitively conclude that prayer was the firſt duty they began with, though it ſeems fairly to look that way, eſpecially if *Tertullian* meant to repreſent the order as well as the ſubſtance of their devotions. After this followed the reading of the *Scriptures* both of the *old* and *new Teſtament*, both the *Commentaries* of the *Apoſtles* and the *Writings* of the *Prophets*, as *J. Martyr* informs us. How much of each was read at one meeting, in the firſt times, is not known, it being then unfixed and arbitrary, becauſe their meetings, by the ſudden

Apol. c. 39. p. 31.

Apol. 2. p. 98.

sudden interruption of the Heathens, were oft disturbed and broken up, and therefore both *Justin* and *Tertullian* confess that they only read as much as *occasion* served, and the *condition* of the present times did require: but afterwards there were *set portions* assigned, both out of the *Old* and *New* Testament, two *Lessons* out of each, as we find it in the Author of the *Apostolical Constitutions*. Nay not only the *Canonical* Scriptures, but many of the Writings of *Apostolical* men (such as were eminent for *place* and *piety*) were in those days publickly read in the Church, such was the famous Epistle of S. *Clemens* to the *Corinthians*; of which and of the custom in like cases *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth*, who lived about the year 172, gives *Soter* Bishop of *Rome* this account: to day (*says he*) we kept holy the *Lords-day*, wherein we read your *Epistle*, which we shall *constantly* read for our instruction, as we also do the first Epistle which *Clemens* wrote to us. The like *Eusebius* reports of *Hermas* his *Pastor* (a Book so called) and S. *Hierom* of the Writings of S. *Ephrem* the famous Deacon of *Edessa*, that in some Churches they were *publickly* read, after the read-

Part 1.

Lib 2. c. 57 p. 875.

Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 4. c. 23. p. 145

H. Eccles. lib. 3. c. 3. p. 72.

De Script. Eccles. in voc. Ephrem. p. 300.

Part 1. ing of the holy Scriptures. About this part of the service it was that they sung *Hymns* and *Psalms*, a considerable part of the Divine Worship (as it had ever been accounted both amongst *Jews* and *Gentiles*) and more immediately serviceable for celebrating the honour of God, and lifting up the minds of men to divine and heavenly raptures: 'twas in use in the very infancy of the Christian Church, spoken of largely by S. *Paul*, and continued in all Ages after, insomuch that *Pliny* reports it as the *main* part of the Christians Worship, *that they met together before day to join in singing Hymns to Christ as God*: these Hymns were either *extemporary* raptures, so long as immediate *inspiration* lasted, or *set* compositions, either taken out of the holy Scriptures, or of their own composing, as *Tertullian* tells us: for it was usual then for any persons to compose divine Songs to the honour of *Christ*, and to sing them in the Publick Assemblies, till the Council of *Laodicea* ordered, that no *Psalms* composed by *private* persons should be recited in the Church; where though by the ἰδιωτικὰς ψαλμὰς the two *Greek Scholiasts* will have certain *Psalms* ascribed to

Lib. 10. *Ep.* 97.

Ap. c. 39. *p.* 32.

Euseb. l. 5. *c.* 28. *p.* 196

Can. 59.

to *Solomon* and others to be underſtood, yet its much more reaſonable to underſtand it of *private compoſitions*, uſual a long time in the Church, and here for good reaſon prohibited. By this Council it was likewiſe appointed, that the Pſalms ſhould not be one entire continued ſervice, but that a *Leſſon* ſhould be interpoſed in the midſt after every Pſalm; which was done (as *Balſamon* and *Alexius Ariſtenus* tell us) to take off the wearineſs of the people, whoſe minds might be apt to tire in paſſing through thoſe prolix offices all together, eſpecially the Leſſons being ſo large and many. In this duty the whole Congregation bore a part, joining all together in a common celebration of the praiſes of God; afterwards the cuſtom was to ſing *alternatim* courſe by courſe, anſwering one another, firſt brought in (as we are told) by *Flavianus* and *Diodorus* in the Church of *Antioch* in the Reign of *Conſtantine*; but if we may believe *Socrates*, ſome hundreds of years before that, by *Ignatius* who was Biſhop of that Church, who having in a *viſion* heard the *Angels* praiſing the *holy Trinity* with *alternate* Hymns, thereupon introduced the uſe of it in that Church, which from

Part 1.

Can. 17.

Theod. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 2. *c.* 24. *p.* 78.

Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 6. *c.* 8. *p.* 313.

Part 1. thence ſpread it ſelf into all other Churches; and whether *Pliny* (who lived about that time) might not mean ſome ſuch thing by his *ſecum invicem canere*, that the Chriſtians ſung Hymns *one with another*, or *in their courſes*, may be conſidered by thoſe who think it worth their labour to enquire: in the mean time we proceed; the *Reader having done* (they are the words of *Juſtin* the *Martyr*) *the Preſident of the Aſſembly makes a Sermon by way of inſtruction and exhortation, to the imitation and practice of thoſe excellent things that they had heard*: And indeed *Sermons* in thoſe times were nothing elſe but the *expoſitions* of ſome part of the Scriptures which had been read before, and *exhortations* to the people to obey the doctrines contained in them, and commonly were upon the *Leſſon* which was *laſt* read, becauſe that being freſheſt in the peoples memory, was moſt proper to be treated of, as S. *Auguſtine* both avers the *cuſtom*, and gives the *reaſon*. Hence, in the Writers of the Church, Preachers came to be called *Tractatores*, and their Sermons *Tractatus*, becauſe they *handled* or treated of ſuch places of Scripture as had been a little before read

Loc. ſupr. cit.

Serm. 237. de temp. tom. 10. col 1116.

read unto the people. According as occaſion was theſe Sermons were more or fewer, ſometimes two or three at the ſame Aſſembly, the Presbyters firſt and then the Biſhop, as is expreſly affirmed in the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*, *then* (i. e. after the reading of the *Goſpel*) *let the Presbyters exhort the people one by one, not all at once, and after all the Biſhop, as it is fitting for the Maſter to do.* And thus *Gregory Nyſſen* excuſes himſelf for not introducing his Sermons with a tedious Preface, becauſe he would not be burdenſom to the people, who had already taken pains to hear thoſe admirable diſcourſes that had been made before him. Part 1. *Vt ſupra.* p. 876. Εἰς τὸν ἑαυτῦ χειροτονίαν. tom. 1. p. 872.

This courſe they held not in the *morning* only, but likewiſe in the *afternoon* (at ſome times at leaſt) when they had their publick Prayers and Sermons to the people. This *Chryſoſtom* aſſures us of in an *Homily* upon this very ſubject, in commendation of thoſe who came to Church *after Dinner*, and that as he tells them, in greater numbers than before; who inſtead of *ſleeping* after Dinner, came to hear the divine Laws expounded to them; inſtead of walking upon the *Exchange*, and entertain- Ἐπαινῶ τῶν μετὰ τὴν ἑστίασιν ἀκμάζοντων εἰς τὴν ἀκρόασιν. *Hom.* 10. *ad Pop. Antioch.* p. 116. *Tom.* 1.

Part 1. ing themselves with idle and unprofitable chat, came and stood amongst their brethren, to converse with the discourses of the *Prophets*. And this he tells them he put them in mind of, not that it was a reproach to *eat* and to *drink*, but that having done so, it was a shame to *stay at home*, and deprive themselves of those religious Solemnities. The same 'twere easie to make good from several passages in S. *Basil*, S. *Augustine*, and others, who frequently refer to those Sermons which they had preached in the morning.

But how many soever the discourses were, the people were ready enough to entertain them, flocking to them as to their spiritual meals and banquets:

Apol. c. 39. We meet together (says *Tertullian*) to hear the holy Scriptures rehearsed to us, that so according to the quality of the times we may be either forewarned or corrected by them: for certainly with these holy words we nourish our *Faith*, erect our *hope*, seal our *confidence*, and by these inculcations are the better established in obedience to the divine

Orat. 32. *p.* 517. commands. *Nazianzen* tells us what vast numbers used to meet in his Church at *Constantinople*, of all Sexes, of all sorts and

and rancks of persons, *rich* and *poor*, *honourable* and *ignoble*, *learned* and *simple*, *Governours* and *People*, *Soldiers* and *Tradesmen*, all here unanimously conspiring together, and greedily desirous to learn the knowledge of divine things. The like *Chrysostom* reports of the Church at *Antioch*, that they would set aside all affairs at home, to come and hear Sermons at Church; he tells them 'twas the great *honour* of the City, not so much that it had large *Suburbs* and vast *numbers* of people, or brave *houses* with gilded Dining-Rooms, as that it had a *diligent* and *attentive* people. And elsewhere, that 'twas the great encouragement of his ministry, to see such a famous and chearful concourse, a people so well ordered and desirous to hear; that 'twas this advanced their City above the honour of a *Senate*, or the Office of *Consul*, or the variety of *Statues* or ornaments, or the plenty of its *Merchandise*, or the commodiousness of its *scituation*; in that its people were so earnest to hear and learn, its Churches so thronged and crowded, and all persons inflamed with such an insatiable desire of the word that was preached to them; yea that this it was that adorned the

Part 1.

Hom. 56. *tom.* 1. *p.* 623.

Hom 4. *in verb. Esaiæ vid. Dom. tyr. tom.* 3. *p.* 750.

Part 1. the City even above *Rome* it ſelf. And indeed the commendation is the greater, in that commonneſs did not breed contempt, it being uſual in that Church (as *Chryſoſtom* often intimates) for a good part of the year to have Sermons every day.

Well, *Sermon* being ended, prayers were made with and for the *Catechumens*, *Penitents*, *Poſſeſſed*, and the like, according to their reſpective capacities and qualifications, the perſons that were in every ranck departing as ſoon as the prayer that particularly concerned them was done: firſt the *Catechumens*, and then the *Penitents*, as is preſcribed in the nineteenth Canon of the *Laodicean* Council: for no ſooner was the ſervice thus far performed, but all that were under baptiſm, or under the diſcipline of penance, *i. e.* all that might not communicate at the *Lords Table*, were commanded to depart, the *Deacon* crying aloud, ΟΣΟΙ ΚΑΤΗΧΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ ΠΡΟΕΛΘΕΤΕ, *Thoſe that are Catechumens go out*; in the *Latine* Church the *form* was ITE, MISSA EST, *depart, there is a diſmiſſion of you*, *miſſa* being the ſame with *miſſio*, as *remiſſa* oft uſed in ſome Writers for *remiſſio* (and ſo the word *miſſa* is uſed by

Conſtit. Apoſt. l. 8. c. 6 p. 1006.

by *Cassian* even in his time, for the dismission of the Congregation.) Hence it was that the whole Service from the beginning of it till the time that the *Hearers* were *dismissed* came to be called *Missa Catechumenorum*, the *Mass* or Service of the *Catechumens*, as that which was performed afterwards at the celebration of the *Eucharist* was called *Missa Fidelium*, the *Mass* or Service of the *Faithful*, because none but they were present at it; and in these notions and no other the word is often to be met with in *Tertullian*, and other ancient Writers of the Church; 'tis true, that in process of time, as the discipline of the *Catechumens* wore out, so that title which belonged to the first part of the Service was forgotten, and the name *missa* was appropriated to the Service of the *Lords Supper*, and accordingly was made use of by the Church of *Rome*, to denote that which they peculiarly call the *Mass* or the *propitiatory* Sacrifice of the *Altar* at this day: and the more plausibly to impose this delusion upon the people, they do with a great deal of confidence muster up all those places of the Fathers where the word *missa* is to be found, and apply it to their *Mass*; though

Part 1.

De institut. monach lib. 3. c. 7. p. 26.

Part 1. though it would puzle them to produce but one place, where the word is uſed in the ſame ſenſe as they uſe it now, out of any genuine and approved Writer of the Church for at leaſt the firſt four hundred years. But to return, the *Catechumens*, *&c.* being departed, and the Church doors ſhut, they proceeded to the *Lords Supper*, at which the *Faithful* only might be preſent, wherein they prayed for all ſtates and rancks of men, gave the *Kiſs* of charity, prayed for *conſecration* of the Euchariſt, then received the ſacramental Elements, made their Offerings, and ſuch like; of which I do not now ſpeak particularly, becauſe I intend to treat diſtinctly of the *Sacraments* afterwards: for the ſame reaſon I ſay nothing concerning their *admonitions*, *Church-cenſures*, *abſolutions*, *&c.* becauſe theſe will come under conſideration in another place, as alſo becauſe though managed at their publick Aſſemblies, were yet only accidental to them, and no ſetled parts of the Divine Service. This in ſhort was the general form of publick Worſhip in thoſe ancient times, which although it might vary ſomewhat according to times and places, did yet for the main and the ſubſtance of it hold in all.

That

That which remains, is a little to remarque how the *Christians* carried themselves in the discharge of these solemn duties, which certainly was with singular *reverence* and *devotion*, such *gestures* and *actions* as they conceived might express the greatest *piety* and *humility*. Let both men and women (says *Clemens of Alexandria*) come to Church in *comly* apparel, with a *grave* pace, with a modest silence, with a *love* unfeigned, *chast* both in body and mind, and so as they may be fit to put up prayers to God. Let our *speech* in prayer (says *Cyprian*) be under discipline, observing a *decorous* calmness and modesty; we are to remember that we are under the eye of God, whom we are not to offend either in the *habit* of our body, or the *manner* of our speech; for as 'tis the fashion of those that are impudent to clamour and make a noise, so on the contrary it becomes a sober man to pray with a *modest* voice: when therefore we come together with our brethren into the Assembly, to celebrate the divine *Sacrifices* with the Minister of God, we ought to be mindful of *order* and a reverent regard, and not to throw about our prayers with a *wild* and *confused* voice, or

Part 1.

Paed. l. 3. c. 11. p. 255

De Orat. Dom. p. 188.

Part 1. or with a disorderly prattling to cast forth those petitions, which ought with the greatest modesty to be put up to God. The men prayed with their *heads bare*, as not ashamed to look up to heaven for what they begged of God; the women *covered*, as a sign of the *modesty* of that Sex, and therefore *Tertullian* severely checks the practice of some women in his time, who in time of worship had no covering on their heads, or what was as good as none; what reproof (*says he*) do they deserve, that continue *unvailed* in singing Psalms, or in any mention of God; or do they think its enough to lay some thin and slight thing over their heads in prayer, and then think themselves covered. Where he manifestly refers to those rules which the *Apostle* prescribes in this case, and concludes at last, that they should at all times and in all places be mindful of the rule, being ready and provided against all mention of the name of God, who if he be in womens *hearts*, will be known on their *heads*, *viz.* by a modest *carriage* and *covering* of them in their addresses to him. Their hands they did not only *lift* up to heaven (a posture in prayer common both among

De Virg. veland. p. 504.

Jews

Jews and *Gentiles*) but they did *expand* and ſpread them abroad, that ſo by this means they might ſhadow out an *image* of the *Croſs*, or rather a reſemblance of him that hung upon it, as *Tertullian* more than once and again informs us: Prayer (*ſays another*) is a converſing with God, and the way to heaven, and to ſtretch out our hands is to form the reſemblance of *Chriſt crucified*; which whoever prays ſhould do, not only as to the *form* and figure, but in reality and affection; for as he that is faſtned to the Croſs ſurely dyes, ſo he that prays ſhould *crucifie* the deſires of the fleſh, and every inordinate luſt and paſſion. In the performing of this duty, they either *kneeled*, which was moſt uſual, or *ſtood*, which they always did upon the *Lords day*, for a reaſon which we have ſpoken of before; ſitting was ever held a poſture of great *rudeneſs* and *irreverence*; nay *Tertullian* falls heavy upon ſome that uſed preſently to *clap* themſelves down upon their ſeats, as ſoon as ever prayer was done, and down-right charges it as againſt *Scripture*; if it be an irreverent thing (as he *argues*) to ſit down before, or over againſt a perſon for whom thou haſt a mighty reverence and veneration; how

Part 1.

De Orat. c. 11. *Apol.* c. 39.

Aſterius Amaſen. Hom. de precat. apud Phot. Cod. 271. col. 1496.

De Orat. c. 12. p. 134.

Part 1. how much more does it ſavour of *irreligion* to do ſo in the preſence of the *living God*, while the *Angel* is yet ſtanding by thee to carry up the prayer to heaven, unleſs we have a mind to *reproach* God to his face, and tell him that we are weary of the duty.

Another cuſtom which they had in prayer was, that they conſtantly prayed towards the *Eaſt*; this was ſo univerſally common, that there's ſcarce any ancient Eccleſiaſtical Writer but ſpeaks of it; though not many of them agree in aſſigning the *reaſon* of it; the cuſtom doubtleſs begun very early, and is generally aſcribed to the *Apoſtles*; ſo the Author of the *Queſtions* and *Anſwers* aſſures us, and tells it was becauſe the *Eaſt* was accounted the moſt *excellent* part of the Creation, and ſeeing in prayer we muſt turn our faces towards ſome quarter, 'twas fitteſt it ſhould be towards the *Eaſt*: juſt (*ſays he*) as in making the ſign of the *Croſs* in the name of *Chriſt*, we uſe the right hand, becauſe 'tis better than the left, not in its own nature, but only in its *poſiture* and *fitneſs* for our uſe. S. *Baſil* likewiſe reckons it amongſt the *traditions* that had been derived from the *Apoſtles*, but tells us the

Queſt, 118. p. 471.

De Spirit. S. c. 27. p. 352. tom. 2. Athanaſ. ad Antioch. Queſt 37. p. 285: *tom. 2. Conſt. App. lib. 2. c. 57.* p 876.

the *Myſtery* of it was, that hereby they reſpected *Paradiſe*, which God planted in the *Eaſt*, begging of him that they might be reſtored to that ancient Country from whence they had been caſt out. This might probably be with thoſe who dwelt in the *Weſtern* parts of the world, but how it could be done by thoſe who lived *Eaſt* of the Garden of *Eden* (ſuppoſe in any parts of *India*) I am not able to imagine. *Clemens Alex.* tells us that herein they had reſpect to *Chriſt*, for as the *Eaſt* is the birth and womb of the natural day, from whence the *Sun* (the Fountain of all ſenſible light) does ariſe and ſpring; ſo *Chriſt* the true *Sun of righteouſneſs*, who aroſe upon the world with the *light* of truth, when it ſat in the *darkneſs* of errour and ignorance, is in Scripture ſtiled *the Eaſt*, and therefore our prayers are directed thither. For which reaſon *Tertullian* calls the *Eaſt*, the *figure* or the *type* of *Chriſt*: but what ever the true reaſon was, I'm ſure 'tis a ſober account which *Athanaſius* gives of it; we do not (*ſays he*) worſhip towards the *Eaſt*, as if we thought God any ways ſhut up in thoſe parts of the world, but becauſe God is in himſelf, and is ſo ſtiled in Scripture,

Part 1.

Strom lib. 7. p. 724.

Contr. Valent. c. 3. p. 251. ubi ſupr. p. 284.

Part 1. the *true light*; in turning therefore towards that *created* light, we do not *worship* it, but the great *Creator* of it; taking *occasion* from that most excellent element, to adore that God who was before all elements and ages of the world. This was their carriage for prayer; nor were they less humble and reverent in other parts of Worship, they heard the Scriptures read and preached with all possible *gravity* and *attention*, which that they might the better do, they were wont to *stand* all the while the *Sermon* continued, none sitting then but the Bishop and Presbyters that were about him; so *Optatus* expressly tells us, that the people had no priviledge to *sit down* in the Church: though whether the custom was universally so in all places, I much doubt; nay S. *Augustine* tells us, that in some *transmarine* (I suppose he means *the Eastern*) Churches it was otherwise, the *people* having seats placed for them as well as the *Ministers*. But generally the people *stood*, partly to express the *reverence*, partly to keep their attentions *awake* and *lively*. Hence it was part of the *Deacons* office (as *Chrysostome* tells us, and the same we find in the ancient *Greek Liturgies*) to call upon the

De Schism. Donatist. l. 4. p. 115.

De Catechis. rudib. c. 13 tom. 4. col. 907.

De incomparab. Dei natur. Hom. 4. p. 353. tom. 1.

the people with an ΟΡΘΟΙ ΣΩΜΕΝ ΚΑΛΟΣ, *Let us duly stand upright*, respecting the *decent* posture of their *bodies*, though withal principally intending the *elevation* of their *minds*, the lifting up their thoughts from low sordid objects to to those spiritual and divine things, they were then conversant about. But what ever they did in other parts of the publick Service, they constantly stood up at the reading of the *Gospel*; a custom generally embraced in all parts of the Christian world. Therefore *Sozomen* discourfing of the various rites observed in several Churches, notes it as an unusual thing in the Bishop of *Alexandria*, that he did not rise up when the Gospels were read; a thing (*says he*) which I never saw nor heard of in any other place: and *Philostorgius* tells us of *Theophilus* the *Indian* Bishop, that amongst several *irregularities* which he corrected in those Churches, he particularly reformed this, that the people were wont to *sit* while the *Lessons* out of the Gospel were read to them. Nor did the greatest personages think themselves too high to express this piece of reverence in their attendance upon the King of Kings. 'Tis very memorable

Part 1.

H. Eccl lib. 7. c. 19 p. 734.

H. Eccl l. 3. num. 5. p. 29.

Part 1. what we read concerning the great *Constantine*, that when upon occasion *Eusebius* was to make a *Panegyrick* concerning the *Sepulchre* of our Saviour, though it was not in the *Church*, but in the *Palace*, yet he refused to *sit* all the time, and when *Eusebius* beseeched him to sit down in his *Throne*, that was hard by him, he would not, but attentively heard, judged, and approved those things that were spoken: and when after a good while, the *Sermon* having been prolix, *Eusebius* out of compliance would have broken off and done, he called to him to go on till he came to the full end of his discourse; whereupon he was again sollicited to sit down, but refused, *affirming it to be unfit to attend upon any discourse concerning God, and much more at this time, with ease and softness; and that it was very consonant to piety and religion that discourses about divine things should be heard standing.* So great a reverence had that *excellent* Prince for the solemnities of divine Worship. In the discharge of these holy Exercises as they carried themselves with all seriousness and gravity, so they *continued* in them till they were compleatly *finished*; there was then no such

De vit. Constant. lib 4. c. 33. p 542.

ſuch airineſs and levity as now poſſeſſes the minds of men, no *ſnatching* at ſome pieces of the Worſhip, *tanquam Canis ad Nilum*, and gone again, no rude diſorderly departing the Congregation, till the whole Worſhip and Service of God was over. And therefore when this warmth and vigour of the firſt Ages was a little abated, the Council of *Orleans* thought good to re-eſtabliſh the primitive devotion by this Canon, *That when the people came together for the celebration of divine Service, they ſhould not depart till the whole Solemnity was over, and the Biſhop or Presbyter had given the bleſſing.* Part 1. Can 22.

CHAP. X.

Of Baptism, and the administration of it in the Primitive Church.

Four circumstances considered. Baptism by whom administred. By none usually without the leave of the Bishop. The great controversie about re-baptizing those that had been baptized by Hereticks. An account of it out of Cyprian. *Laymen how suffered to baptize. The opinion of the absolute necessity of Baptism. The case of* Athanasius *his baptizing when but a Child. Women never permitted to baptize. Persons to be baptized, who. Infants. Sufficient evidence for Infant-baptism in the ancient Writers of the Church. Some passages out of* Cyprian *noted. The baptized most what adult persons. The stated times of Baptism,* Easter *and* Whitsuntide, *and why. Especially upon* Easter Eve, *and why. In cases of necessity at any other time.* Clinici, *who. Clinic-baptism accounted less perfect, why. Usual to defer Baptism till a death-bed: and the reason of it: noted*

in

in Conſtantine *and others. Being baptized for the dead, what (probably.) The uſual place of Baptiſm in or near the Church; always before the Congregation. The* Baptiſterium *or Font where it ſtood, and how large. Its diſtinct apartments for men and women. A curioſity in many in thoſe times of being baptized in* Jordan, *and why. The manner of the Adminiſtration. The perſon baptized looked towards the Weſt, and why. Their anſwering as to the profeſſion of their faith. Their ſolemn abrenunciation made twice; and the form of it. Sureties in Baptiſm. Perſons baptized exorciſed; what meant by it. Unction upon what account uſed; ſeveral reaſons of it aſſigned by the Fathers. The ſign of the Croſs made in Baptiſm, evident out of the ancient Fathers. Of immerſion, or putting the perſon under water: what it ſhadowed out. Generally in uſe in thoſe Countries, not abſolutely neceſſary in others. Trine immerſion: different reaſons of it aſſigned by the Fathers. It obtained not in* Spain, *and why. A ſecond Unction. Perſons after Baptiſm clothed in white garments, and why. Theſe kept in the Church as a teſtimony of their ſolemn engagement: a memo-* Part 1.

Part 1. *rable inſtance out of* Victor Uticenſis. *A brief account of confirmation: the neglect of it bewailed.*

OUR Lord having inſtituted **Baptiſm** and the **Lords Supper** as the two great *Sacraments* of the *Chriſtian* Law, they have accordingly been ever accounted principal parts of publick Worſhip in the Chriſtian Church; we ſhall treat firſt of *Baptiſm*, as being the *door* by which perſons enter in, the great and ſolemn rite of our initiation into the faith of Chriſt; concerning which, four circumſtances are chiefly to be enquired into; the *perſon* by, and upon whom; the *time* when, the *place* where, the *manner* how this Sacrament was adminiſtred in the ancient Church.

For the *perſons* by whom this Sacrament was adminiſtred, they were the *Miniſters* of the Goſpel, the *Stewards of the myſteries of Chriſt*, baptizing and preaching the Goſpel being joined together by our *Saviour* in the ſame Commiſſion; uſually 'twas done by the Biſhop, the πρεσβὺς in *J. Martyr*, the *Antiſtes* in *Tertullian*, the *Preſident* or chief Miniſter of the Congregation, the *ſummus ſacerdos, qui eſt Epiſcopus*, as he calls him,

him, without whose leave and authority neither *Presbyters* nor *Deacons* might take upon them to *baptize*, as not only *Ignatius* but *Tertullian* expressly tells us, and if they did, it was only in case of necessity, as is affirmed by an ancient Author who lived in or near the time of *Cyprian*: the same S. *Hierom* assures us was the custom in his time, though otherwhiles we find the Bishop to begin the action, and the Presbyters to carry it on and finish it: but as Christianity encreased, this became a more familiar part of the *Presbyters* and the *Deacons* office, and doubtless had been more or less executed by them from the beginning, though out of reverence to the Bishop, and to preserve the *honour* of the Church (as *Tertullian* gives the reason) they did it not without his *leave* and deputation, and 'tis certain that *Philip* baptized the *Eunuch*, who yet was of no higher order than that of *Deacon*. Nor was it accounted enough by some in those times, that Baptism was conferred by a person called to the Ministry, unless he was also *orthodox* in the Faith. This became matter of great bustle in the Church; hence sprang that famous controversie between *Cyprian* and

Part 1.

Epist. ad Smyrnæos. p. 6.

De Baptismo. c. 17. p. 230.

De non rebaptiz. apud Cypr. p. 138.

Dial. adv. Lucifer. p. 139.

Ambr. de Sacram. l. 3 c. 1.

Part 1. and *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*, concerning the *re-baptizing* those that had been baptized by *Hereticks* (of which there is so much in *Cyprians* Writings) *Cyprian* asserting that they ought to be re-baptized, the other as stifly maintaining it to be both against the *doctrine* and *practice* of the Church. This begot great heats and feuds between those good men, and engaged a great part of the whole Christian Church in the quarrel, *Cyprian* endeavouring to strengthen his cause not only by arguments from *Scripture*, but by calling a Council at *Carthage* of eighty seven *African Bishops*, who all concluded for his opinion. How truly *Cyprian* maintained this, I am not concerned to enquire; only I take notice of two things which he and his Followers pleaded by way of abatement to the *rigour* of their opinion. First, that hereby they did not assert *re-baptization* to be lawful, this they expresly deny to receive any patronage from their practice, for they looked upon that baptism that had been conferred by Hereticks as *null* and *invalid* (seeing Hereticks being out of the Church could not *give* what they *had* not) and therefore when any returned to the union of the Church

Cypr. Ep. ad Quint. de Haret. Bap. Ep. 71. p. 119. & Concil. Carth. apud Cypr. senten. 35. p. 286.

Church they could not properly be ſaid to be re-baptized, ſeeing they did but receive what (*lawfully*) they had not before. Secondly, that they did not *promiſcuouſly* baptize all that came over from heretical Churches, for where any had been lawfully baptized by *Orthodox* Miniſters before their going over to them, theſe they received at their return without any other Ceremony than *impoſition* of hands; baptizing thoſe only who never had any other baptiſm than that which Hereticks had conferred upon them. *Cyprian* being thus ſevere againſt baptiſm diſpenſed by *heretical* Miniſters, we may wonder what he thought of that which was adminiſtred by meer *lay-unordained* perſons, which yet was not uncommon in thoſe times: for that Lay-men (provided they were Chriſtians and baptized themſelves) might and did baptize others in caſes of neceſſity, is ſo poſitively aſſerted by *Tertullian*, *Hierom*, and others, that no man can doubt of it. A cuſtom ratified by the Fathers of the *Illiberitan* Council, with this *Proviſo*, that if the perſons ſo baptized lived, they ſhould receive *confirmation* from the Biſhop: this without queſtion aroſe from an opinion they had of

Part 1.

Cypr. ibid. & Conc. Carthag. ſentent. 8. & Cyrill. præf. Catech. ad illumin. p. 9.

Locis antea citat.

Can. 38.

Part 1. of the absolute and indispensable *necessity* of Baptism, without which they scarce thought a mans future condition could be safe, and that therefore 'twas better it should be had from *any*, than to depart this life without it; for excepting the case of *Martyrs* (whom they thought sufficiently qualified for heaven by being *baptized* in their own *blood*, insisting upon a twofold Baptism, one of *water* in time of peace, another of *blood* in the time of persecution, answerable to the *water* and *blood* that flowed out of our *Saviours* side: excepting these) they reckoned no man could be saved without being baptized, and cared not much in cases of necessity, so they had it, how they came by it: as for that act of *Athanasius* (mentioned by the Author of his life in *Photius*, and more largely related by *Sozomen*) who when a Boy and playing with the rest of his Companions, they formed themselves into a kind of Church-society; *Athanasius* was chosen Bishop, and others personated the *Catechumens* ready to be baptized, and were accordingly with all the usual formalities baptized by *Athanasius*. This juvenile Ceremony being ended, they were brought before *Alexander* the then Bishop

Cyrill. ad Illuminat. Catech. 3. p. 61.

Cod. 258. col. 1429.

Hist. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 17. p. 467.

ſhop of *Alexandria* (who had himſelf beheld the whole *ſcene*) who enquiring into the reaſons and circumſtances of the action, and having conſulted with his Clergy that were about him, concluded that thoſe Children ought not to be *rebaptized*, and therefore only added his confirmation to them. But this being only a particular caſe, and the like not mentioned that I remember by any Writer of thoſe times, I only relate it as I find it. But though this power in caſes of neceſſity was allowed to *men* (who were capable of having the miniſterial office conferred upon them) yet was it ever denied to *women*, whom the Apoſtle has ſo expreſly forbidden to exerciſe any miniſtry *in the Church of God*, and accordingly cenſured in the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*, to be not only *dangerous*, but *unlawful* and *impious*. Indeed in the Churches of the Hereticks women even in thoſe times took upon them to baptize, but it was univerſally condemned and cried out againſt by the Orthodox, and conſtantly affixed as a note of diſhonour and reproach upon the heretical parties of thoſe times, as abundantly appears from *Tertullian*, *Epiphanius*, and others, who records the heretical Part 1.

Tert. de Bap c. 17. de vel. virg. c. 9. de præſcript. adv. Hæret. c. 41 Epiph. hæreſ 49. & hæreſ. 79. Ritual. Rom. de Sacram. Bapt. Rubric. de miniſtr. bapt. p. 9.

Part 1. heretical doctrines and practices of those first Ages of the Church; however afterwards it crept in in some places, and is allowed and practised in the Church of *Rome* at this day: where in cases of necessity they give leave that it may be administred by any, and in any language, whether the person administring be a *Clergie* or a *Lay-man* (yea though under *excommunication*) whether he be a *Believer* or an *Infidel*, a *Catholick* or an *Heretick*, a *man* or a *woman*; only taking care, that if it may be, a *Priest* be preferred before a *Deacon*, a Deacon before a *Subdeacon*, a *Clergie* man before a *Lay*, and a *man* before a *woman*; together with some other cases which are there wisely provided for.

From the persons *ministring* we proceed to the *persons* upon whom it was *conferred*, and they were of two sorts, *Infants* and *adult* persons: how far the baptizing of Infants is included in our *Saviours* institution is not my work to dispute; but certainly if in controverted cases the constant practice of the Church, and those who immediately succeeded the Apostles be (as no man can deny it is) the best interpreter of the Laws of *Christ*, the dispute one would

would think ſhould be at an end: for that it always was the cuſtom to receive the Children of *Chriſtian* Parents into the Church by Baptiſm, we have ſufficient evidence from the greateſt part of the moſt early Writers, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Cyprian*, *&c.* whoſe teſtimonies I do not produce, becauſe I find them collected by others, and the argument thence ſo forcible and concluſive, that the moſt zealous oppoſers of *Infant Baptiſm* know not how to evade it; the teſtimonies being ſo clear, and not the leaſt ſhadow that I know of in thoſe times of any thing to make againſt it. There was indeed in *Cyprians* time a controverſie about the baptizing of Infants, not *whether* they ought to be baptized (for of that there was no doubt) but concerning the *time* when it was to be adminiſtred, whether on the *ſecond* or *third*, or whether as *Circumciſion* of old to be deferred till the *eighth* day: for the determining of which, *Cyprian* ſitting in Council with ſixty ſix Biſhops, writes a *Synodical* Epiſtle to *Fidus*, to let him know, that it was not neceſſary to be deferred ſo long, and that it was their univerſal judgment and reſolution that the *mercy* and *grace* of God

Part 1.

J. G. Voſſ. de bapt. diſput. 14. p. 178. & ſeq. Forbes. inſtruct. Hiſt. Theſ. lib. 10. c. 5. ſect. 14. & ſeq. Dr. Ham. Defen. of Infant Baptiſm. c. 4. ſect. 2.

Epiſt 60. p. 97.

was

Part 1. was not to be denied to any, though as soon as he was *born*: concluding, that it was the sentence of the Council, that none ought to be forbidden baptism and the grace of God; which as it was to be observed and retained towards all men, so *much more* towards *Infants* and *new-born* Children; and that this sentence of theirs was no *novel* doctrine S. *Augustine* assures us, where speaking concerning this *Synodical* determination, he tells us, that in this *Cyprian* did not make any new decree, but kept the *Faith* of the Church most firm and sure. I shall only take notice of one place more out of *Cyprian*, which methinks evidently makes for this purpose, where describing the great wickedness and miserable condition of the *lapsed*, such as to avoid persecution had done sacrifice to the Idols, he urges this as one of the last and highest aggravations, that by their apostacy their Infants and Children were exposed to ruine, and *had lost that which they had obtained at their first coming into the world* (which whether he means it of their *right* to Baptism, or their having been actually baptized, and losing the *fruit* and *benefit* of their Baptism, is all one to my purpose) and therefore

Epist. 28. *ad Hieronym. tom.* 2. *col.* 108.

De lapsis p. 171.

therefore he brings them in thus elegantly pleading againſt their *Parents* at the great day. *'Twas no fault of ours, we did not of our ſelves forſake the Sacraments of our Lord, and run over to join with prophane impieties; the unfaithfulneſs of others has undone us, we have found our Parents to be murderers; they denied us God for our Father, and the Church for our Mother; for while we alas were little, unable to take any care of our ſelves, and ignorant of ſo great a wickedneſs, we were enſnared by the treachery of others, and by them betrayed into a partnerſhip of their impieties.* Part 1.

This was the caſe of Infants, but thoſe who made up the main body of the baptized in thoſe days, were *adult* perſons, who flocking over daily in great numbers to the faith of Chriſt, were received in at this door: uſually they were for ſome conſiderable time *catechized*, and trained up in the principles of the Chriſtian Faith, till having given teſtimony of their proficiency in knowledge (to the Biſhop or Presbyter, who were appointed to take their examination, and to whom they were to give an account once a week of what they had learnt) and of a ſober and regular con- *Conc. Laodic. Can.* 46.

Part 1. verſation, they then became *Candidates* for Baptiſm, and were accordingly taken in, which brings me to the next circumſtance conſiderable concerning

The *Time* when Baptiſm was wont to be adminiſtred: at firſt all times were alike, and perſons were baptized as opportunity and occaſion ſerved; but the diſcipline of the Church being a little ſetled, it began to be reſtrained to two ſolemn and ſtated times of the year, *viz.* *Eaſter* and *Whitſontide*. At *Eaſter* in memory of Chriſts *death* and *reſurrection*, correſpondent unto which are the two parts of the Chriſtian life repreſented and ſhadowed out in Baptiſm, *dying* unto ſin, and *riſing* again unto newneſs of life, in order to which the parties to be baptized were to prepare themſelves by a ſtrict obſervation of *Lent*, diſpoſing and fitting themſelves for Baptiſm by faſting and prayer. In ſome places, particularly the Churches of *Theſſaly*, *Eaſter* was the only time for Baptiſm (as *Socrates* tells us) which was the reaſon why many amongſt them died *unbaptized:* but this was an uſage peculiar to them alone. The ancient cuſtom of the Church (as *Zonaras* tells us) was for perſons to be baptized eſpecially upon the *Saturday* before

Tert. de Baptiſm. c.19.p.232

Cyrill. præfat. Catech. ad illuminat. p.6.

H. Eccleſ. lib 5.c.22. p.287.

In Can. 45. Conc. Laod.

before *Eaſter-day*, the reaſon whereof was, that this being the *great* or *holy Sabbath*, and the mid-time between the day whereon Chriſt was *buried*, and that whereon he *roſe* again, did fitlieſt correſpond with the myſtery of Baptiſm, as it is the *type* and repreſentation both of our Lords *burial* and *reſurrection*. At *Whitſontide*; in memory of the *Holy Ghoſts* being ſhed upon the *Apoſtles*, the ſame being in ſome meaſure repreſented and conveyed in Baptiſm. When I ſay that theſe were the two fixed times of Baptiſm, I do not ſtrictly mean it of the preciſe days of *Eaſter* and *Whitſontide*, but alſo of the whole intermediate ſpace of fifty days that is between them, which was in a manner accounted *Feſtival*, and Baptiſm adminiſtred during the whole time, as I have formerly noted. Beſides theſe, *Nazianzen* reckons the Feaſt of *Epiphany* as an annual time of Baptiſm, probably in memory either of the *Birth* or *Baptiſm* of our *Saviour*, both which anciently went under that title: this might be the cuſtom in ſome places, but I queſtion whether it was univerſal, beſides that afterwards it was prohibited and laid aſide: But though perſons in health, and the

Part 1.

εἰς τὸ ἅγ. Βαπ. Orat. 40. p. 654.

Part 1. ſpace that was requiſite for the inſtruction of the *Catechumens* might well enough comport with theſe annual returns, yet if there was a *neceſſity* (as in caſe of *ſickneſs* and danger of *death*) they might be baptized at any other time: for finding themſelves at any time ſurprized with a dangerous or a mortal ſickneſs, and not daring to paſs into another world without this *Badge* of their initiation into *Chriſt*, they preſently ſignified their earneſt deſire to be baptized, which was accordingly done as well as the circumſtances of a ſick Bed would permit. Theſe were called *Clinici* (of whom there is frequent mention in the ancient Writers of the Church) becauſe ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ βαπτιζόμενοι, baptized as they *lay along* in their beds. This was accounted a leſs ſolemn and perfect kind of Baptiſm, partly becauſe 'twas done not by *immerſion*, but by *ſprinkling*; partly becauſe perſons were ſuppoſed at ſuch a time to deſire it, chiefly out of a *fear* of death, and many times when not throughly *Maſters* of their underſtandings. For which reaſon perſons ſo baptized (if they recovered)

Can. 12. are by the Fathers of the *Neocæſarean* Council rendred ordinarily incapable of being

being admitted to the degree of *Presbyters* in the Church. Indeed 'twas very usual in those times (notwithstanding that the Fathers did solemnly and smartly declaim against it) for persons to defer their being baptized till they were near their death, out of a kind of *Novatian* principle, that if they fell into sin after Baptism, there would be no place for repentance, mistaking that place of the *Apostle*, where 'tis said that *if they who have been once enlightened* (ἅπαξ φωτισθέντας, which the Ancients generally understand of *Baptism*) *fall away 'tis impossible to renew them again unto repentance.* For some such reason we may suppose it was that *Constantine* the *Great* deferred his Baptism till he lay dying; the same which *Socrates* relates of his Son *Constantius*, baptized a little before his death: and the like he reports of the Emperour *Theodosius*, who apprehending himself to be arrested with a mortal sickness, presently caused himself to be baptized, though he recovered afterwards. To this custom of *Clinic Baptism* some not improbably think the Apostle has reference in that famous place, where he speaks of those that are *baptized for the dead*, ὑπὲρ νεκρῶν, which they Part 1. *Euseb. de vit. Const. lib. 4. c. 61. p. 557. Hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 47. p. 161. Lib. 5. c. 6. p. 262. Vid. Vs. Thes. de Baptism. p. 161. & de Resur. Thes. 18.*

Part 1. they expound with reference to the *ſtate of the dead*, and that 'tis meant of ſuch who in danger of death would be baptized, that it might fair well with them after death: This *Epiphanius* thinks the trueſt interpretation, that its meant of *Catechumens*; who being ſuddenly ſurpriſed with death, would be baptized that ſo their ſins being remitted in Baptiſm, they might go hence under the hope of that eternal life which awaits good men after death, and teſtifie their belief and expectation of their future happy reſurrection: others think it may refer to the *place* of Baptiſm, thoſe who are baptized ὑπὲρ νεκρῶν, *over the Graves* or Sepulchres of the dead, it being an ancient and general cuſtom to have their religious meetings, and to perform their publick exerciſes at the *Tombs* of *Martyrs*; there being numerous inſtances in the *acts* of the Martyrs, of ſuch as were baptized in the *Cæmitera*, over the Monuments of the *dead*. Which ſoever of theſe is moſt ſutable, yet certainly either of them is far more probable than that which many talk ſo much of, as if the Apoſtle meant it of a *cuſtom* common in thoſe primitive times amongſt the *Corinthians*, and other Hereticks, where when

Hæreſ. 28. *p.* 54. *vid. Matth. Blaſt. Syntag c.* 1. *lit. B. p.* 41.

Vid. Prudent. Periſteph. Hymn 8. *p.* 110.

Vid. Epiphan. Hæreſ. 28 *contra Cerinth. p.* 54.

when any died without Baptism, they used to place another under his *Bed*, who was baptized for him in his *stead*, whence *Tertullian* calls it a *vicarious Baptism*; it being highly improbable, that the great Apostle would fetch an argument to confirm so solemn and fundamental a principle of the Christian Faith as the doctrine of the *Resurrection* is from such an absurd and ridiculous rite used only by the *worst* of Hereticks. But this only by the way. Part 1. *De Resur. Carn. c. 48.*

For the *Place* where this solemn action was performed it was at first unlimited, any place where there was water, as *Justin Martyr* tells us, in Ponds, or Lakes, at Springs, or Rivers, as *Tertullian* speaks; but always as near as might be to the place of their publick Assemblies, for it was seldom done without the presence of the *Congregation*, and that for very good reason, both as 'tis a principal act of religious Worship, and as 'tis the initiating of persons into the Church, which therefore ought to be as publick as it could, that so the whole Congregation might be spectators and witnesses of that profession and engagement which the person baptized then took upon him; and this they so zea- *Apol. 2. p. 93.* *De Baptism c. 4.*

Part 1. louſly kept to, that the *Trullan* Council allows not Baptiſm to be adminiſtred in a private *Chappel*, but only in the publick Churches, puniſhing the perſons offending, if Clergy with *depoſition*, if Laity with *excommunication*; which yet (as both *Zonaras* and *Balſamon* expound the *Canon*) is to be underſtood, unleſs it be done with the leave and approbation of the Biſhop of the *Dioceſs*; for this reaſon they had afterwards their *Baptiſteria*, or as we call them *Fonts*, built at firſt near the Church, then in the *Church-Porch*, to repreſent Baptiſms being the *entrance* into the myſtical Church; afterwards they were placed in the Church it ſelf: they were uſually very large and capacious, not only that they might comport with the general cuſtom of thoſe times of perſons baptized, being *immerſed* or put under water, but becauſe the ſtated times of Baptiſm returning ſo ſeldom, great multitudes were uſually baptized at the ſame time: In the middle of the *Font* there was a *partition*, the one part for men, the other for women, that to avoid offence and ſcandal they might be baptized aſunder. Here it was that this great rite was commonly perſormed, though

Can. 59.

in

in cases of necessity they dispensed with private Baptism, as in the case of those that were *sick*, or shut up in *prison*, of which there were frequent instances in times of persecution. Many there were in those days (such especially as lived in the parts near to it) whom nothing would serve, unless they might be baptized in *Jordan*, out of a reverence to that place where our *Saviour* himself had been baptized; this *Constantine* tells us he had a long time resolved upon, to be baptized in *Jordan*, though God cut him short of his desire: and *Eusebius* elsewhere relates, that at *Bethabara beyond Jordan where John baptized*, there was a place whither very many even in his time used to resort, earnestly desiring to obtain their Baptism in that place. This doubtless proceeded from a very devout and pious mind, though otherwise one place can contribute nothing more than another, nothing being truer than what *Tertullian* has observed in this case, *that it's no matter whether we be baptized amongst those whom John baptized in Jordan, or whom Peter baptized in Tyber.* Part 1.

De vit. Const. l. 4. c. 62.

Euseb. de loc. Hebr. in voce Βηθαβαρα. *p. 59.*

De Baptism. c. 4. p. 225.

The last circumstance I propounded concerns the manner of the celebration of

Part 1. of this Sacrament, and for this we may obſerve, that in the *Apoſtles* Age Baptiſm was adminiſtred with great nakedneſs and ſimplicity, probably without any more formality than a ſhort prayer, and repeating the words of inſtitution, and indeed it could not well be otherwiſe, conſidering the vaſt numbers that many times were then baptized at once. But after-ages added many rites, differing very often according to time and place; I ſhall not undertake to give an account of all, but only of the moſt remarkable, and ſuch as did generally obtain in thoſe times, keeping as near as I can to the order which they obſerved in the adminiſtration, which uſually was thus. Perſons having paſt through the ſtate of the *Catechumens*, and being now ripe for *Baptiſm*, made it their requeſt to the Biſhop that they might be baptized, whereupon at the ſolemn times they were brought to the entrance of the *Baptiſtery* or *Font*, and ſtanding with their faces towards the *Weſt* (which being directly oppoſite to the *Eaſt*, the place of *light*, did ſymbolically repreſent the Prince of *darkneſs* whom they were to renounce and defie) were commanded to ſtretch out their *hand*, as it were

Cyrill. Hieroſ. Catech. myſt. 1. p. 306 & ſeq. vid. Dion. Areop. de Eccleſ. Hierarch. c. 2. p. 253.

were in defiance of him: in this posture they were *interrogated* by the Bishop, concerning their breaking of all their former leagues and commerce with sin, and the powers of Hell, the *Bishop* asking, *dost thou renounce the Devil and all his works, powers, and service?* to which the party answered, *I do renounce them: dost thou renounce the world and all its pomps and pleasures?* Answer, *I do renounce them.* This *renunciation* was made twice, once before the *Congregation* (probably at their obtaining leave to be baptized) and presently after at the *Font* or place of Baptism, as *Tertullian* witnesses. Next they made an open *confession* of their Faith, the Bishop asking *Dost thou believe in God the Father almighty, &c. in Jesus Christ his only Son, who, &c. dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost; the holy Catholick Church, and in one Baptism of repentance for the remission of sins, and life everlasting?* to all which the person answered, *I do believe.* This form of *interrogation* seems to have been very ancient in the Church, and the Apostle is justly thought to refer to it, when he stiles Baptism *the answer of a good conscience towards God*, which can reasonably refer

Part 1.

Ambros. de Sacram. lib. 1. c. 2. tom. 4. p. 429.

De Coron. mil. c. 3. p. 102. de Spect. c. 13. p. 79.

Vid. Const. Apost. lib. 7. c. 42. p. 993.

Part 1. fer to nothing ſo well as that common cuſtom of *anſwering* in Baptiſm. Theſe anſwers and actions in the *adult* were done by the perſons themſelves, in *children* by their *ſponſores*, as *Tertullian* calls them, their *Sureties* and undertakers; for that both Infants and adult perſons had thoſe that *undertook* for them at their Baptiſm, is ſo notoriouſly known, that it were impertinent to inſiſt upon it. After this there was a kind of *Exorciſm*, and an *inſufflation* or breathing in the face of the perſon baptized (which S. *Auguſtine* calls a moſt ancient *tradition* of the Church) by which they ſignified the expelling of the evil ſpirit, and the breathing in the good Spirit of God: not that they thought that every one before Baptiſm was *poſſeſſed* by the Devil, but only that *we are by nature children of wrath*, enemies to God, and ſlaves to *Satan*. Nor did they lay any ſtreſs upon the bare uſage of thoſe Symbolick Rites, but wholly upon the Churches Prayers, which at the ſame time were made, that God would deliver thoſe perſons from the power of Satan, and by his Spirit unite them to the Church. This being done, they were brought to the *Font*, and were firſt

De Baptiſm. c. 18. p. 231.

De nupt. & concup. lib. 2. c. 29. tom. 7. col. 856.

first stript of their *garments* (intimating thereby *their putting off the old man which is corrupt with his deceitful lusts*) and that all occasions of scandal and immodesty might be prevented in so sacred an action, the men and women (as I observed before) were baptized in their distinct *apartments*, the women having *Deaconesses* to attend them, to undress and dress them, to stand about and overshadow them, that nothing of indecency might appear; then followed the *Unction*, a Ceremony of early date, by which (says S. *Cyril*) they signified that they were now cut off from the *wild Olive*, and were *ingraffed* into Christ, the *true* Olive-tree, and made partakers of his fruits and benefits, or else to shew that now they were become *Champions* for Christ, and had entred upon a state of conflict, wherein they must strive and contend with all the snares and allurements of the world, as the *Athletæ* of old were anointed against their solemn Games, that they might be more expedite, and that their *Antagonists* might take less hold upon them: or rather, probably, to denote their being admitted to the great Priviledges of Christianity, a *chosen generation, royal Priesthood, an holy nation* (as

Part 1.

Constit. Apost. lib. 3. c. 15. p. 899 Epiphan. Hæres. 79. p. 447. ib. l. 7. c. 23. p. 379. Catech. 2. p. 518.

Ambros. de Sacram. l. 1. & 2. tom. 4. p. 429. vid. Dion. Areop. de Eccles. Hierarch. c. 2. p. 279.

Part 1. (as the *Apostle* stiles Christians) Offices of which *anointing* was an ancient Symbole, both of being designed to them, and invested in them; and this account *Tertullian* favours, where speaking of this Unction in Baptism, he tells us 'tis derived from the ancient, *i. e. Jewish* Discipline, where the Priests were wont to be *anointed* for the Priesthood: for some such purpose they thought it fit that a Christian (who carries *unction* in his very *name*) should be anointed as a *spiritual* King and Priest, and that no time was more proper for it, than at his Baptism, when the name of *Christian* was conferred upon him. Together with this we may suppose it was, that the *sign* of the *Cross* was made upon the forehead of the party baptized; when this Ceremony first began to be used in Baptism, I find not; S. *Basil* reckons it (and he puts it too in the first place) amongst those ancient *Customs* of the Church that had been derived from the times of the *Apostles*: that it was generally in use in the times of *Tertullian* and *Cyprian*, we have sufficient evidence from their Writings, and indeed cannot reasonably suppose they should omit it in this solemn action (where it is so proper) when they used

De Baptis. c. 7. p. 226.

De Spirit. Sanct. c. 27. tom. 2. p. 351. Vid. Tert. adv. Marcion. l. 3 p. 226. Cyprian. de lapsi p. 169. frons cum signo, &c. de unit. eccles. p. 185. ea parte corpor. &c. adv. Demet p. 203. renat. & sign. Christ. signat. &c.

used it in the commonest actions of their lives, *Tertullian* expressly assuring us, *that upon every motion, at their going out and coming in, at their going to bath, or to bed, or to meals, or whatever their employment or occasions called them to, they were wont* frontem signaculo terere, *to make the sign of the Cross upon their forehead*; and this they did *(as he there tells us)* not that it was imposed upon them by any Law of *Christ*, but brought in by a pious custom, as that which did very much tend to strengthen and increase their faith. By this they shewed, *that they were not ashamed of the Cross of Christ*, nor unwilling to ingage in the service of a *crucified* Master, which yet was so great a scandal to the Heathen-World, and therefore so often triumphed in this Symbol and Representation of it. Thus S. *Hierom*, though he lived in a time when Christianity had almost quite prevailed over all other Religions in the World, yet counted this the great matter of his glory, *that I am* (says he) *a Christian, that I was born of Christian Parents, and do carry in my forehead the Banner of the Cross.* And indeed so great a respect did they bear to this Representation of our *Saviours* death, that (though

Part 1.

De Coron. Milit. c. 3. p. 102. vid. Cyril. ad illum. Catech. 4 p. 81.

Præfat. in Job. tom. 3. p. 24.

Part 1. (though they did not *worship* the Cross, yet) they took care that it should not be put to any mean and trivial uses, be painted or made upon the *ground*, or engraven upon Marble *Pavements*, or any thing where it might be trampled upon, as is expressly provided by a Law of *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*.

Lib. 1. C. Justin. Tit. 8. Lanic.

The action having proceeded thus far, the party to be baptized was wholly *immerged* or put under water, which was the almost constant and universal custom of those times, whereby they did more notably and significantly express the *three great ends and effects* of Baptism; for as in immersion there are in a manner three several acts, the *putting* the person into water, his *abiding* there for a little time, and his *rising* up again; so by these were represented Christs *death*, *burial*, and *resurrection*, and in conformity thereunto our *dying* unto sin, the *destruction* of its power, and our *resurrection* to a new course of life; by the persons being put into water was lively represented the putting off the body of the sins of the flesh, and being washed from the filth and pollution of them: by his abode under it, which was a kind of burial unto water, his entring into a state

ſtate of death or mortification, like as Part 1.
Chriſt remained for ſome time under the ſtate or power of death, therefore *as many as are baptized into Chriſt*, are ſaid *to be baptized into his death, and to be buried with him by Baptiſm into death, that the old man being crucified with him, the body of ſin might be deſtroyed, that henceforth he might not ſerve ſin, for that he that is dead is freed from ſin*, as the Apoſtle clearly explains the meaning of this rite: and then by his *emerſion*, or riſing up out of the water, was ſignified his entring upon a new courſe of life, differing from that which he lived before, *that like as Chriſt was raiſed up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even ſo we alſo ſhould walk in newneſs of life*. But though by reaſon of the more eminent ſignificancy of theſe things, *immerſion* was the common practice in thoſe days, and therefore they earneſtly urged it and pleaded for it, yet did they not hold *ſprinkling* to be unlawful, eſpecially in caſes of neceſſity, as of weakneſs, danger of death, or where conveniency of immerging could not be had, in theſe and ſuch like caſes *Cyprian* does not only allow, but plead for it, and that in a diſcourſe on purpoſe, when

Ep. 76. ad magn. p. 153.

Part 1. the question concerning it was put to him. Upon this account it is that immersion is now generally disused in these parts of the world, and sprinkling succeeded in its room, because the tender bodies of most Infants (the only persons now baptized) could not be put under water in these cold *Northern* Climates without apparent prejudice to their health, if not their lives; and therefore in this as in other cases, *God requires mercy rather than sacrifice*, especially considering that the main ends of Baptism are attained this way, and the mystical effects of it as *truly*, though not so *plainly* and significantly represented, by sprinkling, as by putting the body under water.

This immersion was performed *thrice*, the person baptized being three several times put under water, a custom which *Basil* and *Sozomon* will have derived from the Apostles; 'tis certain that it was very early in the Church, being twice mentioned by *Tertullian* as the common practice. By this trine immersion they signified (say some) their distinct adoring the three persons in the *blessed Trinity*, and therefore the custom was, in repeating the words of institution, at the

Ubi supra. Hist. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 26. p. 673.

Adv. Prax. c. 26 p. 443 de Cor. mil. c. 3. p. 460.

Dion. Areop. Eccles. Hierarch. c 2. p. 254.

Ibid. de Sacram. lib. 2. c. 7. p. 424.

the naming of every *person*, the *Father*, Part 1.
the *Son*, and the *Holy Ghost*, to plunge
the party under water, as *Tertullian* *Athanas. in dict. & interp. sap. Quest 93. Cyrill. Catech. myst. 2. p. 518. Greg. Nyss. Orat. Catech. c. 35. tom. 2. p. 530.*
tells us, and S. *Ambrose* more expressly.
'Twas done (say others) to represent
the *death*, *burial*, and *resurrection* of our
Saviour, together with his *three days*
continuance in the Grave; S. *Augustine*
joins both these together as the double
mystery of this ancient rite, as he is cited by *Gratian* to this purpose. It cannot be denied but that the Ceremony is very significant and expressive, and accordingly the Ancients laid great weight upon it, insomuch that the *Canons* that go under the name of *Apostolical* command him, whether Bishop or Presbyter, that baptizes any without the *trine immersion* to be *deposed* from his Ministry. But though this custom was in a manner universal, yet in some places (in after times especially) it was otherwise, particularly in *Spain*, where they used it but *once*, lest they should gratifie the *Arrians*, who made use of the trine immersion to denote the persons in the Trinity to be three distinct *substances*, and gloried that the *Catholicks* did, and held the same with them. Upon this account they were content to immerge but once;

De consecrat. Distinct. 4. c. 78. Can 50.

Part 1. and when differences and controversies did still remain about it, the fourth Council of *Toledo* out of a Letter of *Gregory* the *great* thus determined the case, that they should still use their *single* immersion, and that this would sufficiently express the mysteries of Baptism, the diving under water would denote Christs *death* and *descending* into Hell, the coming out *his resurrection:* the single immersion would express the *unity* of the Godhead; while the *Trinity* of persons would be sufficiently denoted by the persons being baptized *in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.* The person baptized being come out of the water was *anointed* a second time, as S. *Cyril* tells us; and indeed whatever becomes of the unction that was before, 'tis certain that that which *Tertullian* speaks of as a part of the ancient discipline, was after the person was baptized; which being done, he had a *white Garment* put upon him, to denote his having put off the *lusts* of the flesh, his being *washed* from the filth and defilement of his former sins, and his resolution to maintain a life of *unspotted* innocence and purity, according to that solemn and strict engagement which in Baptism he had

Can. 5.

De Baptism c. 7. p. 226.
Cyrill. Catech. 4. p. 533.
Jobius apud Phot. Cod. 222. c. 18 col. 597.
Ambros. de iis qui mysteri. initiant. c. 7. tom. 4. p. 425.

had taken upon him. In this they alluded to that of the Apoſtle, *that as many as are baptized into Chriſt, have put on Chriſt, i.e.* have engaged in that ſtrict and holy courſe of life, which he both by his doctrine and example has left to the world: accordingly perſons baptized are both by the Apoſtle, and by the Greek Fathers frequently called φωτιζόμενοι, or *the enlightened*, becauſe they now profeſſed that they were *become the children of the light and of the day*, and would not return to *works of darkneſs* any more; and this as they expected mercy from *Chriſt* at the great day; therefore the white Garment was wont to be delivered to them with ſuch a charge as this, *Receive the white and immaculate garment, and bring it forth without ſpot before the tribunal of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that thou mayſt have eternal life. Amen.* From the wearing of theſe white Veſtments (as we have obſerved before) *Pentecoſt* (which was one of the two annual times for Baptiſm) came to be called *Whiteſunday*, as alſo the Sunday after *Eaſter* (which was the other time) *Dominica in Albis*, becauſe then they laid this *white* Robe aſide; for it was the cuſtom for perſons baptized to wear

Part 1.

Gregor. Sacramentar. inter Liturgic. Latinor. tom. 2 p. 260 vid. Euchol. Græc. in Offic. S. Baptiſm. p. 357.

Part 1. this Garment for a whole week after they were baptized, and then to put it off, and lay it up in the Church, that it might be kept as an evidence against them, if they violated or denied that *Faith* which they had owned in Baptism; whereof we have a memorable instance under the *Arrian* persecution in *Africk*. *Elpidophorus* a Citizen of *Carthage* had lived a long time in the communion of the Church, but apostatizing afterwards to the *Arrians*, became a most bitter and implacable persecuter of the *Orthodox* party: amongst others whom he summoned to be put to the Rack, was one *Miritas* a venerable old *Deacon* (who had been the *Undertaker* for him at his Baptism) who being ready to be put upon the Rack, plucked out the *white* Vestment wherewith *Elpidophorus* had been clothed at his Baptism, and with tears in his eyes thus openly bespake him before all the people: *These, Elpidophorus, thou minister of error, these are the Garments that shall accuse thee, when thou shalt appear before the majesty of the great Judge; these I will diligently keep as a testimony of that ruine, that shall depress thee deeper into the lake that burns with fire and brimstone; these are*

Victor. Vnic de persecut. Vand. lib. 3 fol. 43.

are they that were girt upon thee, when thou cameſt pure out of the holy Font; and theſe are they that ſhall bitterly purſue thee when thou ſhalt be caſt into the place of flames; becauſe thou haſt clothed thy ſelf with curſing, as with a Garment, and haſt caſt off the ſacred obligation of thy Baptiſm, and the true faith which thou didſt then profeſs and take upon thee. Theſe were the main and moſt conſiderable circumſtances wherewith *Baptiſm* was adminiſtred in the primitive Church; ſome whereof were by degrees antiquated and diſuſed, other rites there were that belonged only to particular Churches, and which, as they were ſuddenly taken up, ſo were as quickly laid aſide; others were added in after-times, till they encreaſed ſo faſt, that the uſage and the number of them became abſurd and burdenſom, as may appear by the office for Baptiſm in the *Romiſh Ritual* at this day. Part 1.

As a concluſion to this Chapter, I had once thought to have treated concerning **Confirmation**, which ever was a conſtant *appendage* to Baptiſm, and had noted ſome things to that purpoſe; but ſhall ſuperſede that labour, finding it ſo often, and ſo fully done by others in juſt

B. Tay'er. Dr Hammond. Mr. Baxter Mr. Hanmer. Mr. Daille.

Part 1. discourses, that nothing considerable can be added to them; only I shall give this brief and general account of it: all persons baptized in the ancient Church (according to their age and capacity, persons *adult*, some little time after Baptism, *Children*, when arrived to years of competent ripeness and maturity) were brought to the Bishop, there further to *confirm* and ratifie that *compact* which they had made with God in Baptism, and by some solemn acts of his ministry to be themselves *confirmed* and strengthned, by having the *grace* and blessing of God conferred upon them, to enable them to discharge that great promise and engagement which they had made to God. This was usually performed with the Ceremony of *Unction*, the person confirmed being anointed by the Bishop, or in his absence by an inferiour Minister; and indeed Unction was an ancient rite used in the *Jewish* Church to denote the conferring of gifts or graces upon persons, and thence probably amongst other reasons (as many other usages were) might be derived into the *Christian* Church; though a *learned* man is of opinion, that *unction* was never used in *confirmation*, but where

Hen. Vales. Annot. ad Euseb Hist. Eccles p. 135. col. 1.

where the person being in case of neces- Part 1.
sity baptized by some of the inferior Clergy had not been before anointed; otherwise those who had received compleat Baptism, were not afterwards anointed at their confirmation, for which the Council of *Orange* is most expres Can. 1. and clear. And indeed that Confirmation was often administred without this *unction*, no man can doubt that knows the state of those times, being done only by solemn *imposition* of the Bishops hands, and by devout and pious prayers, that the persons confirmed might *grow in grace and the knowledge of Christ*, and be enabled to perform those vows and purposes, and that profession of Faith which they had before embraced in Baptism, and then again owned before the whole Congregation. Till this was done, they were not accounted *compleat Christians*, nor admitted to the holy *Communion*, nor could challenge any actual right to those great priviledges of *Christianity*, whence it is that the Ancients so often speak of Confirmation as that which did *perfect* and consummate *Christians*, as being a means to confer greater measures of that grace that was but begun in Baptism; upon all which accounts,

and

Part 1. and almoſt exactly according to the *primitive* uſage, it is ſtill retained and practiſed in our own *Church* at this day: and happy were it for us, were it kept up in its due power and vigour; ſure I am, 'tis too plain that many of our unhappy breaches and controverſies in Religion do (if not wholly, in a great meaſure) owe their birth and riſe to the neglect and contempt of this excellent uſage of the Church.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Lords Supper, and the adminiſtration of it in the ancient Church.

The perſons diſpenſing this Ordinance, who. The perſons Communicating, the Baptized or the Faithful: Suſpenſion from this Ordinance according to the nature of the offence. The Euchariſt ſent home to them that could not be preſent. The caſe of Serapion. *A cuſtom in ſome places to give the Sacrament to perſons when dead, if they dyed before they could receive it, and why. The Euchariſt kept*

kept by persons at home. Sent abroad. Part 1.
This laid aside, and in its stead Eulogiæ *or pieces of consecrated Bread sent from one Church to another, as tokens of communion. The time of its administration: sometimes in the morning, sometimes at night: varied according to the peace they enjoyed. How oft they received the Eucharist. At first every day. This continued in* Cyprian's *time. Four times a week. Afterwards less frequented. The usual place of receiving, the Church: ordinarily, not lawful to consecrate it elsewhere. Oblations made by persons before their communicating. Their* Agapæ *or Love Feasts, what. Whether before or after the Sacrament. How long continued in the Church. The manner of celebrating this Sacrament, collected out of the most ancient Authors. The holy Kiss. The general prayer for the Church, and the whole world. The consecration of the Sacrament: the form of it out of S.* Ambrose. *The Bread common Bread. The sacramental Wine mixed with Water. This no necessary part of the institution. Why probably used in those Countries. The posture of receiving not always the same. Singing Psalms during the time of celebration.*

Followed

Part 1. *Followed with prayer and thanksgiving. The whole action concluded with the Kiſs of peace.*

THE holy *Euchariſt* or **Supper** of our **Lord** being a rite ſo ſolemnly inſtituted, and of ſuch great importance in the *Chriſtian* Religion had place accordingly amongſt the Ancients in their *publick* offices and devotions. In ſpeaking to which I ſhall much what obſerve the ſame method I did in treating concerning *Baptiſm*, conſidering the *perſons*, the *time*, the *place*, and the *manner* of its celebration. The *perſons* adminiſtring were the ordinary *Paſtors* and Governours of the Church, thoſe who were ſet apart for the miniſtration of holy offices; the inſtitution was begun by our *Lord* himſelf, and the adminiſtration of it by him committed to his *Apoſtles* and to their ordinary ſucceſſors, to the end of the world. We find in *Tertullian*, that they never received it from any but the hand of the *Preſident*; which muſt either be meant of the particular cuſtom of that *Church* where he lived, or of *conſecration* only; for otherwiſe the cuſtom was when the *Biſhop* or *Preſident* had by ſolemn Prayers and bleſſings conſecrated the

De Cor. mil. c. 3. p. 102.

the ſacramental elements, for the *Deacons* to diſtribute them to the people, as well to thoſe that were abſent as to them that were preſent, as *Juſtin Martyr* expreſly affirms, and as the cuſtom generally was afterwards. For the *perſons communicating* at this Sacrament, at firſt the *whole* Church, or body of *Chriſtians*, within ſuch a ſpace, that had embraced the doctrine of the Goſpel, and been baptized into the faith of *Chriſt*, uſed conſtantly to meet together at the *Lords* Table. As Chriſtians multiplied, and a more exact diſcipline became neceſſary, none were admitted to this ordinance till they had arrived at the degree of the *Faithful*, for who ever were in the ſtate of the *Catechumens*, *i.e.* under inſtruction in order to their Baptiſm, or by reaſon of any hainous crime under the *cenſures* and ſuſpenſion of the Church, and not yet paſſed through the ſeveral ſtages of the *Penitents*, might not communicate, and were therefore commanded to *depart* the Church, when the reſt went to the celebration of the Sacrament: for looking upon the *Lords Supper* as the higheſt and moſt ſolemn act of Religion, they thought they could never take care enough in the diſpenſing of it; accordingly Part 1. *Apol.* 2. *p.* 97.

Part 1. cordingly who ever was found guilty of any *ſcandalous* fault, was according to the nature of the offence debarred the Communion a ſhorter or a longer time, and ſometimes all their life, not to be reconciled and taken into the communion of the Church, till they had continued their repentance to their death-bed. As for thoſe perſons that could not be preſent, either through diſtance of place, ſickneſs, or any other juſt cauſe, the *Euchariſt* was wont to be ſent *home* to them, ſome little pieces of the *conſecrated* bread *dipt* in the ſacramental *Cup*, which were uſually carried by the *Deacon* or ſome inferior Officer of the Church, or in caſes of neceſſity by any other perſon; as in the caſe of *Serapion*, of whom *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* relates, that having been all his life a good man, at laſt *lapſed* in a time of perſecution, and though he oft deſired reconciliation, yet none would communicate with him; not long after he was ſeized upon by a mortal ſickneſs, depriv'd of the uſe of his ſpeech and ſenſes, but coming to himſelf after four days, he ſends his Nephew a little Boy late at night for one of the *Presbyters* to come to him; the Miniſter was at that time ſick, but conſidering

Apud Euſeb Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 6. c. 44. p. 246.

considering the exigence of the case, gives the Boy a little piece of the *Eucharist*, bids him to *moisten* it with a little water, and so give it him in his mouth, which he did, and immediately the old man chearfully departed this life. For the better understanding of which, we are to observe, that those who had lapsed into Idolatry, were to undergo a very long time of penance, and were not many times admitted to the Communion, till they were near their death; and because it sometimes hapned that they were overtaken with sudden death, before the Sacrament could be administred to them, thence a custom sprung up to give it them *after* they were *dead*, which they did doubtless upon this ground, that they might give some kind of evidence, that those persons died in the *peace* and *communion* of the Church, though this usage was afterwards by many *Councils* abrogated and laid aside. I take no notice in this place of their giving the *Eucharist* to *new-baptized Infants*, the case being so commonly known and obvious. In those early times nothing was more common than for Christians either to carry, or to have sent to them some parts of the *Eucharist*, Part 1.

Vid. Conc. 3. Garth. Can. 6. Conc. 6. in Trull. Can. 83.

Part I. *chariſt*, which they kept in ſome decent place in their houſes againſt all emergent occaſions, eſpecially to *fortifie* and ſtrengthen their faith in times of perſecution, and to *encreaſe* kindneſs and amity with one another; whence one that was well verſed in *Church-Antiquities*, conjectures that when ever they entertained Friends or Strangers, they uſed before every meal firſt to give them ſome parts of the holy *Euchariſt*, as being the greateſt *badge*, the ſtrongeſt *band* of true love and friendſhip in the world. Beſides theſe parcels of the ſacramental Elements, there were wont at the celebration of the Communion to be pieces of bread (which remained of the Offerings of the people) which being ſolemnly *bleſſed* by the Biſhop, might be given to thoſe who had no right to be at the *Lords* Table, as to the *Catechumens*, and ſuch like, and were to them inſtead of the Sacrament: Theſe pieces were properly called *Eulogiæ*, becauſe ſet apart by ſolemn *benediction*, and were ſent up and down the Towns and Villages round about, to teſtifie and repreſent their mutual union and fellowſhip with one another; nay and ſometimes from Churches in one Country to thoſe

Joa. Front: Epiſt. de ἀρχαιολογίαις Veter. p. 6.

those that were in another; which was also done by the *Eucharist* it self: for so *Irenæus* in a Letter to Pope *Victor* tells us, that the Ministers of Churches, though differing in some little circumstances, did yet use to send the *Eucharist* to one another. Which custom is also taken notice of by *Zonaras*; but because the carrying the Sacramental Elements up and down the World, was thought not so well to consist with the reverence and veneration that is due to this solemn Ordinance, therefore it was abolished by the *Laodicean* Synod, and these *Eulogiæ* or pieces of bread appointed at *Easter* to be sent up and down in their room.

Part 1.

Euseb. H. Eccles. lib. 5. c. 23. p. 193.

Can. 14.

For the *Time*, the next circumstance, when they met together for this solemn Action, it was in general at their publick Assemblies, on the *Lords day* always or the first day of the week, as we find it in the History of the *Apostles Acts*, besides other days, and especially *Saturday*, on which day all the Churches in the World (those of *Rome* only and *Alexandria* excepted) used to celebrate this Sacrament, as the *Historian* informs us. What time of the day they took to do it, is not altogether so certain; our blessed *Saviour* and his Apostles celebrated it at *night* at the time of the *Jewish* Pass-

Socrat. lib. 5. c. 22. p. 286.

Part 1. over; but whether the *Apostles* and their immediate Successors punctually observed this circumstance may be doubted; 'tis probable that the holy *Eucharist* which S. *Paul* speaks of in the Church of *Corinth* was solemnized in the *morning*, the Apostles calling it a *Supper* (as *Chrysostom* thinks) not because 'twas done in the *evening*, but the more effectually to put them in mind of the time when our *Lord* did institute those holy Mysteries. *Tertullian* assures us in his time 'twas done *in tempore victus*, about *Supper-time* (as all understand him) and very often in the morning *before day*, when they held their religious Assemblies, of which *Pliny* also takes notice in his Letter to the *Emperour*: for in those times of Persecution, when they were hunted out by the inquisitive malice of their enemies, they were glad of the remotest corners, the most unseasonable hours when they could meet to perform the joynt offices of Religion. But this communicating at evening or at night either lasted only during the extreme heats of Persecution, or at least wore off apace; for *Cyprian* expressly pleads against it, affirming that it ought to be in the *morning*, and so indeed in a short time it prevailed over most parts of the World, except

In Loc.

De Cor. mil. c. 3. p. 102.

Lib. 10. Ep 97.

Ad Cæcil. Epist. 63. p. 104.

except in some places of *Egypt*, near *Alexandria*, of which *Socrates* tells us, that after they had sufficiently feasted themselves in the evening, they were wont to receive the Sacrament. Under this circumstance of time we may take occasion to consider, how *oft* in those days they usually met at this table. And at first (while the *Spirit* of Christianity was yet warm and vigorous, and the hearts of men passionately inflamed with the love of *Christ*) 'tis more than probable they communicated *every day*; or as oft as they came together for publick Worship, insomuch that the *Canons Apostolical* and the Synod of *Antioch* threaten every one of the Faithful with Excommunication, who come to Church to hear the holy Scriptures, but stay not to *participate* of the *Lords* Supper: the eye of their minds was then almost wholly fixed upon the memory of their *crucifie Saviour*, and the oftner they fed at his table, the stronger and healthier they found themselves, and the more able to encounter with those fierce oppositions that were made against them. This custom of receiving the Sacrament *every day* continued some considerable time in the Church, though in some places longer than in others, especially in

Part 1.

Ut supr. p. 287.

Can. 9. Concil. Antioch. Can. 2.

Vid. Ep. Cypr. ad Thaborit. Ep. 56. circa init. p. 87.

Part 1. the *Western* Churches; from *Cyprian* we are fully assured 'twas so in his time, *We receive the Eucharist every day* (says he) *as the food that nourishes us to Salvation.* The like S. *Ambrose* reports of *Milan*, whereof he was Bishop, nay & after him S. *Hierom* tells us, 'twas the custom of the Church of *Rome*, and S. *Augustine* seems pretty clearly to intimate, that it was not unusual in his time. In the Churches of the *East* this custom wore off sooner, though more or less according as the primitive zeal did abate and decay; S. *Basil* telling us, that in his time they communicated *four times* a week, on the *Lords-day*, *Wednesday*, *Friday*, and *Saturday*, yea and upon other days too, if the *memory* or festival of any Martyr fell upon them. Afterwards as the power of Religion began more sensibly to decline, and the commonness of the thing begat some contempt (*Manna* it self was *slighted*, after once it was rained down every day) this Sacrament was more rarely frequented, and from once a day it came to once or twice a *week*, and then fell to once a *month*, and after for the most part to *thrice a year* at the three great Solemnities, of *Christmas*, *Easter*, and *Whitsontide*; to so great a coldness and indifferency did the piety & devotion

De Orat. Domin. p. 192.

Ad Jovinian. p. 108 tom. 2.

De Serm. Dom. in mont lib. 2. tom. 4. col. 1147. & Ep. 118. ad Januar. c. 3. col. 457.

Bas. Ep. 289. ad Cæsariam. Patrit. tom. 3. p. 279.

devotion of *Chriſtians* grow, after once the true primitive temper and ſpirit of the Goſpel had left the World. Part 1.

Concerning the third circumſtance, the *Place* where this holy Supper was kept, much need not be ſaid, it being a main part of their publick Worſhip always performed in the place of their religious Aſſemblies. 'Twas inſtituted by our *Saviour* in a private *houſe*, becauſe of its *Analogie* to the *Jewiſh Paſſover*, and becauſe the neceſſity of that time would not otherwiſe admit; by the Apoſtles and Chriſtians with them 'twas celebrated in the houſes of Believers, generally in an *upper room*, ſet apart by the bounty of ſome Chriſtian for the uſes of the Church, and which (as I have formerly proved) was the conſtant *ſeparate* place of religious Worſhip for all the Chriſtians that dwelt thereabouts. Under the ſeverities of great perſecutions they were forced to flye to the *mountains*, or to their *Cryptæ* or *Vaults* under ground, and to celebrate this Sacrament at the *Tombs* of Martyrs, and over the *Aſhes* of the dead. Churches growing up into ſome beauty and regularity, and ſeveral parts of the divine offices began to have ſeveral places aſſigned to them, the Communion-ſervice being removed to the up-

Part 1. per or *East* end of the Church, and there performed upon a table of wood, which afterwards was changed into one of stone, and both of them not uncommonly, though *metaphorically*, by the Fathers styled *Altars*, and the *Eucharist* it self in later times, especially the *Sacrament* of the *Altar*. This place was called θυσιαστήριον, and was fenced in with *Rails*, within which the *Clergie* received the Sacrament, as the *Laity* did without. Here it was that they all used to meet at this heavenly Banquet, for out of this place they allowed not the celebration of the Sacrament a (thing expresly forbidden by the *Laodicean* Council) unless in cases of great necessity; and therefore 'twas one of the principal Articles for which the Synod of *Gangra* deposed *Eustathius* from his Bishoprick, that he kept *private Meetings*, perswading some that were averse to the *publick* Assemblies of the Church, that they might communicate and receive the Sacrament at *home*.

Can. 58.

Socrat. lib. 2. *c* 43 *p.* 156. *& Concil. Gangr. Can.* 5 6.

We come last of all to consider the *Manner* how the *Eucharist* was celebrated in the ancient Church; but before we describe that, we are to take notice, that after the Service of the *Catechumens*, and before the beginning of that of the *Faithful*, at which the *Eucharist* was administred, the

the custom was to present their *offerings*, every one according to his ability bringing some gift as the *first-fruits* of his increase, which was by the Minister laid upon the *Altar* or Communion-table, none of them then thinking it fit *to appear before the Lord empty*, and therefore S. *Cyprian* severely chides a rich Widow of his time, who came without giving any thing to the *poor mans Box*, and did partake of their *offerings*, without bringing any *offering* of her own. These *Oblations* were designed to the uses of the Church, for the maintainance of the Ministry, and the relief of the Poor, especially out of them were taken the *Bread* and the *Wine* for the Sacramental Elements, the bread being no other than *common* bread, such as served for their ordinary uses, there being then no notice taken of what has for so many hundred years, and still is to this day fiercely disputed between the *Greek* and the *Latine* Church, whether it ought to be leavened or unleavened bread. Out of these oblations also 'tis probable they took (at least sent provisions extraordinary) to furnish the *common Feast*, which in those days they constantly had at the celebration of the Sacrament, where the rich and the poor feasted together at the same

Part 1.

Irenæus adv. Hær. lib. 4. c. 34. p. 362. J. Martyr. Ap. 2. p. 98.

De oper. & eleemosyn. p. 218.

Part I. ſame table. Theſe were called *Agapæ* or *Love-feaſts* (mentioned by S. *Jude*, and plainly enough intimated by S. *Paul*) becauſe hereat they teſtified and confirmed their mutual *love* and kindneſs, a thing never more proper than at the celebration of the *Lords* Supper; which is not only a *Seal* of our *peace* with God, but a *ſign* and a pledge of our Communion and fellowſhip with one another. Whether this Banquet was *before* or *after* the celebration of the *Euchariſt*, is not eaſie to determine; 'tis probable, that in the *Apoſtles* time, and the Age after them, it was *before* it, in imitation of our *Saviours* inſtitution, who celebrated the Sacrament after ſupper, and S. *Paul* taxing the abuſes of the Church of *Co-*
1 *Cor.* 11. *rinth* reproves them, *That when they came together for the Lords Supper, they did not one tarry for another, but every one took his own ſupper*, *i. e.* that proviſion which he had brought from home for the common feaſt, which was devoured with great irregularity and exceſs, ſome eating and drinking all they brought, others (the poor eſpecially that came late) having nothing left, *one being hungry and another drunken*; all this, 'tis plain, was done before the celebration of the *Euchariſt*, which was never adminiſtred till the

the whole Church met together. That therefore which the *Apostle* reproves and corrects, is their indecency and intemperance, commanding both rich and poor to *wait for one another*, and to eat this common meal together, that they might the more orderly and unanimously pass to the celebration of the *Lords* Supper. In after Ages this Feast was not till the Communion was over, when the Congregation feasted together, and so departed, and so *Chrysostom* expressly tells us 'twas in his days; besides, nothing is more obvious, than that it was customary in those times for persons to *fast*, till they had received the Communion. I know a very learned man is of opinion, that these *Love-feasts* were not kept at the same time with the celebration of the *Eucharist*; but besides that his Arguments are not conclusive, the whole stream of learned Writers runs full against him. These Feasts continued for some Ages, till great inconveniencies being found in them, they were prohibited to be kept in Churches by the *Laodicean* Synod, and after that by the Council of *Carthage*; which though but Provincial or National Councils, yet the Decrees were afterwards ratified by the sixt *Trullan* Council, and the custom in a short time dwindled into no thing.

Part 1.

Homil. 27. *in* 1. *ad Corinth.* p. 559.

Altaf. de rit. Eccles. obs. 18. p. 135.

Can. 28.

Can. 74.

These

Part 1. These things being premiſed, the ſacramental elements prepared, and all things ready, they proceeded to the action it ſelf, which (following for the main the account that is given us by S. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, and taking in what we find in others) was uſually managed after this manner: Firſt the *Deacon* brought water to the *Biſhop* and the *Presbyters* that ſtood round about the Table to waſh their hands, ſignifying the *purity* that ought to be in thoſe that draw nigh to God, according to that of the *Pſalmiſt*, *I will waſh my hands in innocency, and ſo will I compaſs thine Altar, O Lord*; then the *Deacon* cryed out aloud, *mutually embrace and kiſs one another*; this *holy kiſs* was very ancient, commonly uſed in the Apoſtles times, and in the ſucceeding Ages of the Church, but eſpecially at the Sacrament, as a ſign of the unfeigned *reconciliation* of their minds, and that all injuries and offences were blotted out, according to our *Lords* command, *When thou bringeſt thy gift to the Altar, and remembreſt that thy Brother hath ought againſt thee, leave thy gift before the Altar, and go thy way, firſt be reconciled to thy Brother, and then come and offer thy gift*; this being done, they fell to prayer, the whole Congregation praying together with the Miniſter

Catech. myſt. 5.

Cyrill. ib. p. 534.

Conſtit. Apoſt. lib 8. c. 11. p. 1013.

Juſt. Mart. Apol. 2. p. 97.

Part 1.

Minister (which therefore *Justin Martyr* calls the *Common Prayer*, the form whereof in the *Apostolical* Constitutions is described at large) for the *universal peace* and welfare of the Church, for the *tranquillity and quietness of the world*, for the *prosperity* of the age, for wholesom *weather* and *fruitful seasons*, for all sorts of *persons*, for *Kings* and *Emperours*, *and all in authority*, for *Souldiers* and *Armies*, for *believers* and *unbelievers*, for *friends* and *companions*, for the *sick* and *distressed*, and in short for all that stood in need of help. This general prayer is frequently mentioned by the ancient Fathers; as that which was at the beginning of the Communion Service, though S. *Cyrill* place it a little later, as doubtless it was in his time. After this followed the mutual salutation of the minister and people, the *Minister* saying, *the Lord be with you*, to whom the *People* answered, *and with thy spirit*; the Minister cryed, *lift up your hearts* (nothing being more suitable says S. *Cyrill* at this time, than that we should shake off all worldly cares, and exalt our hearts to God in heaven) the people truly assenting and yielding to it, answered, *we lift them up unto the Lord*; the Minister proceeded, *let us give thanks unto the Lord* (for what more fit than thank-

Ibid.
Lib. 8. c. 10 p. 1011.
Tert. Apol. c. 39.
August. Epist. 118.
Constit. Apostol. lib. 2. c. 57. p. 881.
Ib. p. 538.
Cyrill. p. 537.
Chrysost. in c. 9. 1 ad Cor. Hom. 36. p. 652. 2 ad Cor. c. 8. Hom. 18. p. 873.
Cyprian. de Orat. Dom. p. 195.

Part 1. thankfulness to God, and a high resentment of such favours and blessings) to this the people returned, *it is meet and just so to do*: Whereupon the Minister proceeded to the prayer of Consecration (the form whereof we have in the *Apostolical* Constitutions) wherein he express'd huge thankfulness to God for the death, resurrection, and ascension of his Son, for the shedding of his blood for us, and the celebration of it in this Sacrament; for condescending to admit them to such mighty benefits, and praying for a closer unity to one another in the same mystical body, concluding usually with the *Lords Prayer*, and the hearty and universal acclamation of *Amen*, by all that were present: this done, the *Minister* cryed out ΤΑ ΑΓΙΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ *holy things belong to holy persons*; the people answering, *there is one holy, one Lord Jesus Christ*; then he exhorted them to a due participation of the holy mysteries, which *Cyrill* tells us was done by way of a divine *Hymn*, singing, *come taste and see that the Lord is good.*

Lib. 7. c. 26 p. 979.

J. Mart. ib. p. 98.

Cyrill. p. 541.

Constit. Apost. lib. 8. c. 13 p. 1022

Ib. p 545.

After this the *Bishop* or *Presbyter* took the sacramental elements, sanctified then by a solemn benediction: the form of *consecration* we have in S. *Ambrose*; *Lord, make this oblation now prepared for us,*

De Sacrament lib. 4. c. 5. p. 439.

us, to become a reasonable and acceptable sacrifice; this which is the figure of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; who the day before he suffered took the bread in his sacred hands, looked up to heaven, giving thanks to thee, O holy Father, almighty and everlasting God; blessed it, and having broken it gave it to his Apostles and Disciples, saying, Take, eat all of it, for this is my body which is broken for many: likewise also after Supper he took the Cup, that very day before he suffered, looked up to heaven, giving thanks to thee, holy Father, almighty and everlasting God; and having blessed it, gave it to his Apostles and Disciples, saying, Take and drink ye all of it, for this is my blood. After this he first brake the *bread*, and delivering it to the Deacon, he distributed it to the Communicants; and after that the *Cup*, which was likewise delivered to them, for the custom of communicating under *one kind* only, as is used in the Church of *Rome*, was then unknown to the world, nay and for above a thousand years after *Christ*. In some cases 'tis true they dipt the Bread in the Wine, as in the case of baptized *infants*, to whom they administred the *Eucharist* in those primitive times, and to very weak dying persons, who

Part 1.

J. Mart. ubi supr.

Part 1. who could not otherwiſe have ſwallowed the bread; and that by this means they might keep the Sacrament at home againſt all emergent occaſions; and this probably might in time make the way eaſier for introducing the Sacrament under the kind of Bread only. Their ſacramental Wine was generally diluted and mixed with *water*, as is evident from *Juſtin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, *Cyprian*, and others; *Cyprian* in a long Epiſtle expreſly pleads for it, as the only true and warrantable tradition, derived from *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*, and endeavours to find out many *myſtical* ſignifications intended by it, and ſeems to intimate as if he had been peculiarly *warned* of God to obſerve it according to that manner; an *argument* which that good man often produces as his warrant to knock down a controverſie, when other arguments were too weak to do it. But although it ſhould be granted that our *Saviour* did ſo uſe it in the inſtitution of the Supper (the Wines of thoſe *Eaſtern* Countries being very *ſtrong* and *generous*, and that our *Saviour*, as all ſober and temperate perſons, might probably abate its ſtrength with water, of which nevertheleſs the Hiſtory of the Goſpel is wholly ſilent) yet this being a thing in it ſelf *indiffe-*

Ut ſupr. Iren. lib. 4. c. 57. lib. 5. c. 2.

Ad Cæcil. Ep. 63. p. 100.

Ib. p. 105.

Indifferent and accidental, and no way *necessary* to the Sacrament, could not be obligatory to the Church, but might either be done or let alone. The posture wherein they received it was not always the same; the *Apostles* at the institution of it by our *Saviour* received it (according to the custom of the *Jews* at meals at that time) *lying along* on their sides upon Beds round about the Table; how long this way of receiving lasted, I find not; in the time of *Dionysius Alexandrinus* the custom was to *stand* at the *Lords* Table, as he intimates in a Letter to Pope *Xystus*; other gestures being taken in as the prudence and piety of the Governours of the Church judged most decent and comly for such a solemn action; the Bread and Wine were delivered into the *hands* of those that communicated, and not as the superstion of after-ages brought in, *injected* or thrown into their *mouths*. *Cyrill* tells us that in his time they used to stretch out their *right* hand, putting their *left* hand under it, either to prevent any of the sacramental Bread from falling down, or as some would have it, hereby to shadow out a kind of figure of a *Cross*.

Part 1.

Apud. Euseb. H. Eccles. lib. 7. c. 9 p. 255.

Pag 545.

Vid. Conc. 6. in Trull. Can. 101.

During the time of administration, which in populous Congregations was no

Part 1. no little time, they sung *Hymns* and Psalms (the compiler of the *Apostolical* Constitutions particularly mentions the 33. Psalm) which being done, the whole action was solemnly concluded with prayer and thanksgiving, (the form whereof is likewise set down by the Author of the *Apostolical* Constitutions) that God had thought them worthy to participate of such sacred mysteries, and the people being blessed by the Bishop or the Minister of the Assembly, and having again saluted each other with a *Kiss of Peace*, as a testimony of their hearty love and kindness; whence *Tertullian* calls this Kiss *signaculum Orationis*, the *Seal* of *Prayer*; the Assembly broke up, and they returned to their own houses. This for the main was the order wherein the first *Christians* celebrated this holy Sacrament; for though I do not pretend to set down every thing in that precise and punctual order wherein they were always done (and how should I, when they often varied according to *time* and *place*?) yet I doubt not but who ever examines the usages of those times, will find that 'tis done as near as the nature of the thing would bear.

Lib.8.c.13 p.1023.

Videsis Dion. Areop. de Eccl. Hierarch. c.3 p.284. Lib.7 c.27 p.980. & lib.8.c.15. Cyr.p.546.

De Orat. c.14.

The end of the first Part.

Primitive Christianity:

OR, THE

RELIGION

Of the Ancient

Christians

In the first Ages

OF THE

GOSPEL.

PART II. and III.

Containing an account of their Religion, as it respected both themselves and others.

By *WILLIAM CAVE*, D. D.

ὁ μὲν ὁ χριστιανὸν σύσημά τί ὄζι λογικῶν πράξεων. Clem. Alex. Pædag. lib. 1. c. 13.

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Primitive Chriſtianity;

OR, THE

RELIGION

OF THE

Ancient Chriſtians

In the firſt Ages of the Goſpel.

PART. II.

The Religion of the Primitive Chriſtians as to thoſe Vertues that reſpect themſelves.

CHAP. I.

Of their Humility.

This ſecond branch of Religion comprehended under the notion of Sobriety, and diſcovered in ſome great inſtances

Part 2. *of it. The proper tendency of the Christian Religion to beget humility. This divine temper eminently visible in the first Christians: made good out of their writings. The great humility and self-denial of* Cyprian. *What* Nazianzen *reports to this purpose of his own Father. Their modest declining that just commendation that was due to them. Many who suffered, refus'd the honourable title of Martyrs.* Nazianzen's *vindication of them against the suggestions of* Julian *the Apostate. The singular meekness and condescention of* Nebridius *amidst all his honours and relations at Court. Their stooping to the vilest Offices, and for the meanest persons: dressing and ministring to the sick, washing the Saints feet, kissing the Martyrs chains. The remarkable humility of* Placilla *the Empress, and the Lady* Paula. *An excellent discourse of* Gregory Nyssen's *against Pride.*

NExt to *Piety* towards God, succeeds that part of Religion that immediately respects *our selves*, expressed by the Apostle under the general name of **Sobriety**, or the keeping our selves within those bounds and

and meaſures which God has ſet us; Part 2.
Vertues, for which the Primitive Chriſtians were no leſs renowned than for the other: Amongſt them I ſhall take notice of their *Humlity*, their *contempt* of the *World*, their *temperance* and *ſobriety*, their *courage* and *conſtancy*, and their exemplary *patience* under ſufferings. To begin with the firſt.

Humility is a vertue that ſeems more proper to the Goſpel; for though *Philoſophers* now and then ſpake a few good words concerning it; yet it found no real entertainment in their lives, being generally *animalia gloriæ*, creatures pufft up with wind and emptineſs, and that *ſacrific'd* only to their own praiſe and honour: whereas the doctrines of the *Goſpel* immediately tend to level all proud and ſwelling apprehenſions, to plant the world with mildneſs and modeſty, and to *cloath men with humility, and the ornament of a meek and a quiet ſpirit*: By theſe we are taught to dwell at home, and to converſe more familiarly with our ſelves, to be acquainted with our own deficiencies and imperfections, and rather to admire *others* than to advance *our ſelves*: for the proper notion of Humility lies in a low

Part 2. and mean *estimation* of our selves, and an answerable carriage towards others, *not thinking of our selves more highly than we ought to think*, nor being unwilling that other men should value us at the same rate. Now that this was the excellent spirit of *Primitive Christianity* will appear, if we consider how earnestly they protested against all *ambitious* and vain-glorious designs, how chearfully they condescended to the *meanest* Offices and Imployments, how studiously they declin'd all advantages of *applause* and credit, how ready they were rather to *give* praise to others than to *take* it to themselves, *in honour preferring one another*. S. *Clemens* highly commends his *Corinthians*, that they all of them were of an humble temper, in nothing given to vain-glory, *subject* unto others rather than *subjecting* others to themselves, ready to *give* rather than *receive*. Accordingly, he exhorts them (especially after they were fallen into a little faction and disorder) still to be humble-minded, to lay aside all haughtiness and pride, foolishness and anger; and not to glory in *wisdom*, *strength* or *riches*, but *let him that glories, glory in the Lord*; and to follow the example of our

Epist. ad Corinth. p. 3.

Pag. 17.

Pag. 20.

our Lord, the *Scepter* of the Majesty of God; who came not in the vain-boasting of arrogancy and pride, although able to do whatsoever he pleased, but in great meekness and humility of mind, appearing in the world without any *form or comliness, or any beauty that he should be desired,* suffering himself *to be despised and rejected of men, who esteemed him not, and hid as it were their faces from him; who counted himself a worm and no man, and was accordingly made a reproach of men, and the derision of the people; all they that saw him, laughing him to scorn, shooting out the lip and shaking the head at him.* Now if our Lord himself was so humble-minded, what should we be, who are come under the yoke of his grace? This and much more to the same purpose, has that Venerable and *Apostolical* man in that admirable Epistle, wherein he does lively describe and recommend the meek and excellent spirit of the Gospel. Part 2.

Justin the *Martyr* treads in the very same steps; He tells us that we are to shun all *sinister* suspicions of others, and to be very careful what *Opinion* we entertain of them: that we are to be of a meek and unpassionate mind, not *envying* *Epist. ad Zen. & Serm. p. 505.*

Part 2. *ing* the good esteem and respect which others have, nor ambitiously affecting, or putting our selves forwards upon any service or imployment: that we are humbly to submit our selves, not in *words* only, but in all our *actions*, so as that we may appear to be not *Impostors* and Dissemblers, but mild and undesigning persons; for whoever would govern his life aright must be modest and *unpragmatical*, not angry and contentious, but silently consider with himself what is best and fittest to be done: that we are to account others wise and prudent, and not to think our selves the only discreet and understanding persons: that we must not despise their admonitions, but hearken to their counsels when ever they are just and true. When some in St. *Cyprian*'s time had made a noble and resolute confession of *Christ* in the face of the greatest danger, lest they should be *exalted above measure* in their own thoughts, he bids them remember, according to the discipline of the Gospel, to be humble, and modest and quiet, that they might preserve the honour of their name, and be as glorious in their *actions* as they had been in their *words* and *confessions*

Ibid. p. 508, 509.

Epist. 5. Presb. & Diacon. p. 13.

of

of Christ: that they ſhould imitate their Lord, who was not more proud, but more humble at the time of his paſſion, *waſhing his Apoſtles feet*: and follow the counſel and pattern of St. *Paul*, who in his greateſt ſufferings continued meek and humble, and did not arrogate any thing to himſelf, no not after he had been honoured with a tranſlation into *Paradiſe* and the *third Heavens*: And great reaſon he had to preſs this with all poſſible vehemency at that time, leſt Chriſtians by their turbulent and unquiet carriage ſhould provoke the Heathen Magiſtrate to greater ſeverity againſt them: and indeed who could better do it than he, who was himſelf ſo eminent for humility? For though ſome *Schiſmatical* perſons (whoſe wildneſs and inſolence he ſought to reſtrain) endeavoured to inſinuate that he was not ſo humble as became a man of his Rank and Order, and as were our *Lord* and his *Apoſtles*; yet obſerve how he vindicates himſelf in a Letter to *Pupianus* the Head of the Party; As for my humility (*ſays he*) 'tis ſufficiently known not only to the Brethren, but the *Gentiles* themſelves do ſee and reſpect it, and thou thy ſelf didſt know *Epiſt. 69. p. 116.* Part 2.

Part 2. and honour it, whilſt thou waſt yet in the Church, and didſt Communicate with me: but which of us I pray is fartheſt from humility? *I*, who daily ſerve the Brethren, and receive thoſe who come unto the Church with all joy and kindneſs; or *Thou*, who makeſt thy ſelf a *Biſhop* over thy *Biſhop*, and pretendeſt to be a Judge appointed by God over him who is thy Judge? And indeed how far the good man was from any deſigns of greatneſs and domination appear'd in this, that when the people had univerſally choſen him to be *Biſhop*, he privately withdrew and retir'd himſelf, reckoning himſelf unworthy of ſo great and honourable an Office, and giving way to others, whoſe age and experience rendred them (as he thought) much fitter for it: but the importunity of the people being heightned into a greater impatiency, and having found where he was, they beſet the houſe, and blocked up all paſſages of eſcape, till they had found him, and forc'd it upon him. And with no leſs humility did he behave himſelf in the diſcharge of it: When conſulted by ſome of his *Clergy* what they ſhould do in the caſe of the *lapſed*, he anſwers, that

Pontius Diac. in vit. Cyprian. p. 12.

that being now alone he could say nothing to it, for that he had determin'd from his first entring upon his Bishoprick not to adjudge any thing by his own *private* order without the counsel of the *Clergy*, and the consent of the *People*. So meanly did that wise and excellent man think of himself, and so much did he attribute to the judgement and concurrence of those that were below him. Part 2.

Nazianzen reports of his Father (a *Bishop* too) that amongst other Vertues he was peculiarly remarkable for *Humility*; which he did not express *Philosopher-like* in little acts of external *modes* and carriage, putting on a feign'd behaviour, like women who having no *natural* beauty of their own fly to the *additionals* of dresses and paintings, δι' ἀχημοσύνιν ἀχήμονες, becoming more deformed by their ascititious beauty. His Humility consisted not in his *dress*, but in the *constancy* of his mind; not in the *hanging down* of his head, or the *softness* of his tone, or the *demureness* of his look, or the *gravity* of his beard, or the shaving of his head [the *cropping of his hair*] or the manner of his gate; but in the frame and temper of his soul, being *Orat.* 19. *in Laud. Patr. p.* 300.

Part 2. being as *humble* in his mind, as he was *sublime* and excellent in his life; and when no man could arrive at the perfection of his Vertues, yet every one was admitted to a freedom of converse with him. Both in his garb and diet he equally avoided *pomp* and *sordidness*; and though a great restrainer of his appetite, would yet seem not to do it, lest he should be thought plainly to design glory to himself by being *needlessly* singular above other men. How industriously do we find them many times disowning that deserved praise and commendation that was due to them? How modestly does *Justin Martyr* decline his adversaries commendation of the acuteness and elegancy of his reasonings? resolving all into the *Grace of God*, that enabled him to understand and expound the *Scriptures*, of which Grace he there perswades all men freely and fully to become partakers with him. Of the *Confessors* in the time of the persecution under *M. Aurelius*, *Eusebius* out of the relation which the Churches of *Vienna* and *Lyons* in *France* sent to the Churches in *Asia*, tells us, that although they had often born witness to the Truth at the

Dialog. cum Tryph. p. 280.

Hist. Eccl. lib. 5. *c.* 2. *p.* 166.

the deareſt rate of any thing on this ſide death, though they had been frequently thrown to wild *Beaſts*, expos'd to the *fire*, and the remains of wounds and violence were viſible in all parts of their bodies; yet in imitation of the great humility of the Son of God, they would not after all this (which yet was not uncommon in thoſe times) either *call* themſelves *Martyrs*, or ſuffer others to *call* them ſo: but if any of the brethren either by letter or diſcourſe had ſaluted them by that title, they would ſeverely reprove and check them for it; acknowledging themſelves at beſt but vile and deſpicable *Confeſſors*, and with tears begging of the Brethren to be inſtant with God by Prayer, that they might perfect all by a *reall* Martyrdom. Hence it was, that when *Julian* the *Apoſtate* refus'd to proceed againſt the Chriſtians by open perſecution, as his Predeceſſors had done, becauſe he envied them the *honour* of being *Martyrs*; *Nazianzen* anſwers, that he was greatly miſtaken if he ſuppos'd they ſuffered all this, rather out of a deſire of *Glory*, than a love of *Truth*: ſuch a fooliſh and vain-glorious humour might indeed be found amongſt his *Philo-*

Part 2.

Orat. 3. in Julian. 1. p. 73.

Part 2. *Philoſophers*, and the beſt of his party, many of whom have put themſelves upon ſtrange attempts meerly to gain the honour of a name, and the reputation of *Divinity*: But for Chriſtians, they had rather *dye* in the Cauſe of Religion, although no man ſhould ever know of it, than to *live* and flouriſh amongſt others with the greateſt Honour and Eſteem; it being our great ſollicitude not to pleaſe *Men*, but only to obtain honour from *God*: Nay, ſome of us (*ſays he*) arrive to that *heroick* pitch, as to deſire an intimate *Union* unto God, meerly for himſelf, and not for the honours and rewards that are laid up for us in the other world. Memorable the humility of the great *Conſtantine*, that when all mens mouths were filled with the honourable mention of his Vertues, and one took upon him to praiſe him to his face, telling him how happy he was whom God had thought worthy of ſo great an *Empire* in this world, and for whom he reſerv'd a much better *Kingdom* in the next; he was highly offended with the addreſs, and advis'd the man that he ſhould not preſume to talk ſo any more; but rather turn his *praiſes* of him, into *prayers*

De Vit. Conſtant. lib. 4. cap. 48. p. 551.

to

to God for him, that both here and hereafter he might be thought worthy to be numbred amongst the servants of God. Part 2.

I cannot but take notice of what St. *Hierom* reports of *Nebridius*, a young *Roman Gentleman*, Cousin-german to the *Empress*, by whom he was brought up in the Palace, Play-fellow and Companion to the young *Emperours* (to whom he was very dear) train'd up with them in the same Studies, and Arts of Education; that notwithstanding all this, and that he was then in the prime and vigour of his Youth, yet he was neither *debauched* by intemperance amidst the delicacies and pleasures of the Court, nor *swell'd* with pride, reflecting upon others with a surly look; but rendred himself amiable unto all: the Princes he lov'd as brethren, and *rever'd* as Lords: their Attendants and Ministers, and all the Orders of the Palace he had so endear'd by kindness and condescention, that they who were so much *below* him, did in a manner think themselves *equal* to him. *Ad Salviam Nebridii viduam, de viduit. servand. p. 75. tom. 1.*

I shall give but one instance more of the Humility of those times, and that is their ready condescending to any *Office*

Part 2. *fice* or Imployment, though never ſo mean, about the pooreſt Chriſtian: they thought it not below them to *cook* and provide victuals for them, to *viſit* the impriſon'd, to *kiſs* their chains, to *dreſs* their wounds, to *waſh* their feet: And in this our Lord himſelf went before them, when a little before his death he roſe from table, girt himſelf, *waſh'd and wip'd his Diſciples feet*, and then told them what influence this ought to have upon them, *That if their Lord and Maſter had waſh'd their feet, they ought alſo to waſh one anothers feet, for that he had given them an example, that they ſhould do as he had done to them*; and good reaſon, *the ſervant not being greater than his Lord, neither he that is ſent, greater than he that ſent him.* Accordingly we find this particular Act of Chriſtian condeſcention frequently us'd in the Primitive Church. St. *Paul* expreſly requires it as a qualification in a *widow* that was to be taken in as a *Deaconeſs* into the Church, that ſhe be *one that has us'd to lodge ſtrangers, and to waſh the Saints feet.* *Tertullian* aſſures us 'twas uſually done by Chriſtians in his time, to go into the Priſons to *kiſs* and embrace

1 Tim. 5. 10

Ad Uxor. l. 2. c. 4. p. 168.

embrace the Martyrs chains, to *harbour* and provide for indigent brethren, and to bring water to *wash* the Saints feet: No office so low, which they were not content to stoop to. Part 2.

When *Placilla* the *Empress* was check'd by some of the *Court* for her mighty condescention in visiting the *Hospitals*, and curing the lame and the sick with her *own hands*, preparing and giving them their provisions, as a thing too much below her State and *Grandeur*: She answered, That to distribute gold became the *Emperour*; but for her part she thought her self oblig'd to do this for *God*, who had advanc'd *her* to that Honour and Dignity: Often instilling this pious Counsel into her Husband; *It becomes you, Sir, alwayes to remember, what you once were, and what you now are: by which means you will shew your self not to be ingrateful to your great Benefactor, and will govern the Empire committed to you Justly and Lawfully, and to the honour of him that gave it.* *Theodoret H. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 18. p. 161.*

St. *Hierom* reckoning up the Vertues of *Paula*, a Lady of the greatest Descent and Nobility in *Rome*, but devoting her self afterwards to the solitudes of a Religious Life, tells us of her, that for humility *Epitaph. Paulæ ad Eustoch. filiam. Tom. 1. p. 175.*

Part 2. humility (the *prime* and chief Vertue of *Christians*) she carried her self with so much lowliness, that whoever had seen and not known her, could not but have mistaken her for the meanest of the Maids that waited on her. When ever she appeared in the midst of those devout and pious Virgins that dwelt with her, she always seem'd both in *cloaths*, and *voice*, and *garb*, and *gate* the least and most contemptible of all the rest. So studious was the Piety of those dayes to keep the lustre of their own perfections from sparkling in their eyes, and not fondly to admire the *glimmerings* of their own light; being so far from falsly arrogating to themselves those excellencies which they had not, that they industriously conceal'd those excellent perfections which they had.

De Beatitudinib. Orat. 1. Tom. 1. p. 768.

I cannot better conclude this Chapter, than with the excellent reasonings of St. *Gregory* of *Nyssa* against *priding* a mans self in any external ornaments or advantages, where he thus entertains the proud man: He that looks to *himself*, and not to the things that are *about* him, will see little reason to be *proud*: for what is *Man*? Say the best of him, and that which may add the greatest honour

honour and veneration to him, that Part 2.
he's *born* of *Nobles*, and yet he that adorns his descent, and speaks highliest of the splendour and nobility of his house, does but derive his pedigree from the *dirt*: and to enquire more narrowly into the *manner* of his being born into the world, common with other men, were to *uncover* what shame and modesty require should be conceal'd in the profoundest silence. And dost thou not *blush*, thou *statue* of *earth*, who art shortly to be crumbled into *dust*, who *bubble-like* containest within thee a short-liv'd humour; dost thou not *blush* to swell with pride and arrogance, and to have thy mind stuffed with vain idle thoughts? Hast thou no regard to the *double* term of mans life, *how* it *begun*, and *where* it will *end*? Thou prides't thy self in thy *juvenile* age, and flatterest thy self in the flower, the beauty and sprightliness of thy youth, that thy *hands* are ready for *action*, and thy *feet* apt to dance in nimble *measures*; that thy locks are *wav'd* by the wanton motions of the wind, and a soft down overgrows thy cheeks, that thy purple-robes put the very *roses* to the blush, and thy silken vestures

Part 2. are *variegated* with rich embroidery of of *battels*, *huntings*, or pieces of ancient *history*; or brought down to the feet, artificially set off with black, and curiously made fast with *strings* and *buttons*. These are the things thou look'st at, without any regard to *thy self*. But let me a little as in a *glass* shew thee thy own face, *who* and *what* thou art: Hast thou not seen in a publick *Charnel-house* the unvailed mysteries of humane nature; *bones* rudely thrown upon heaps; naked *skulls* with hollow *eye-holes*, yielding a dreadful and deformed spectacle? Hast thou not beheld their *grinning* mouths, and *gastly* looks, and the rest of their members carelessly dispersed and scattered? If thou hast beheld such sights as those, in *them* thou hast seen thy *self*. Where then will be the signes of thy present beauty, that good *complexion* that adorns thy cheeks, and the colour of thy lips, that frightful *Majesty*, and supercilious loftiness that once resided in thine eyes, or thy nose that once beautifully grac'd thy cheeks? Where are thy locks that were wont to reach thy shoulders, the curles that used to adorn thy temples? What are become

of

of those arms that used to draw the *bow*, those leggs that used to bestride thy *horses*? Where's the *purple*, the *silken garments*, the *long robe*, the *belt*, the *spurs*, the *horse*, the *race*, the *noise* and *prancings*; and all the rest of those things that now add fuel to thy pride? Tell me, where then will those things be, upon the account whereof thou dost now so much *boast* and *bear* up thy self? Was there ever any *dream* so fond and inconstant, any thing more *phantastick* that ever appeared to a man asleep? What *shadow* was ever so thin, so incapable of being grasp'd within the hollow of the hand, as this dream of youth, which at once *appears*, and immediately *vanishes* away. Thus the Holy Man treats the young *vapouring* gallant, and levels his pride with the sober considerations of mortality: In his following discourse he deals with persons of *riper* years, and such as are in places of *authority* and power, and shews how absurd and uncomely pride is in them: which it might not be impertinent to represent, but fearing to be tedious, I forbear. Part 2.

CHAP. II.

Of their Heavenly-mindedness, and contempt of the World.

The Soul rightly constituted naturally tends upwards, especially when assisted with the aids of Religion. The first Christians much above the World. Not wrought upon by temptations of advantage. They accounted it the greatest honour to be Christians. Contented with a very mean portion of outward things. The story of some of our Saviours Kindred brought before Domitian. *The Sect of the* Apostolici *and* Apotactici, *the Fathers of the Mendicant Orders in the Church of* Rome. *The little care which Christians then had of rich furniture and costly provisions. Their denying to go to publick feasts and sports made for the pleasure of the people. This charged upon them by the Heathens. The case of the woman that was seiz'd upon by an evil spirit while she was at the Theatre. Their chearful parting with any worldly comforts, Estate, Relations, &c.*

A strange

A ſtrange Heroick ſpeech of Melania *at the loſs of her Husband and two Sons, mentioned by St.* Hierom. *Eager for Martyrdom, as what would preſently ſend them to Heaven. Their frequent ſupporting themſelves under ſufferings with diſcourſes of the Kingdom above. Thence accus'd as treaſonable affectors of the Empire. Their contempt of the world much promoted by the opinion that the day of judgement was near at hand. Chriſtians in the world like ſojourners in a ſtrange Country.* Part 2.

THe Soul of man being *Heaven-born* cannot but partake of the nature and diſpoſition of that Country, and have a Native inclination to that place from whence it borrows its *Original*: And though 'tis true, in this corrupt and *degenerate* ſtate it is deeply ſunk into *matter*, clogg'd and overborn with the earthly and ſenſual propenſions of the lower appetites, the deſires and deſigns of men creeping up and down like *ſhadows* upon the ſurface of the earth; yet does it often, eſpecially when aſſiſted with the aids of *Religion*, attempt its own reſcue and releaſe. The mind of a good man is

Part 2. acted by manly and *generous* impulses, it dwells in the Contemplations of the *upper* Region, tramples upon those little projects of profit or pleasure which *ensnare* and *enslave* other men, and makes all its designs subservient to the interests of a better Country. A temper of mind never more triumphant in any than in the *Christians* of old, whose *Conversations were in Heaven*, and whose spirits breath'd in too free an air to be caught with the charms of the best enjoyments this world could afford: They looked upon the delights and advantages of this life as things not worthy to arrest their affections in their journey to a better. *Justin Martyr* discoursing with *Trypho* the *Jew*, tells him, that they were careful with all fear to converse with men according to the *Scriptures*, not greedily desiring to gain *Riches*, or *Glory*, or *Pleasure* to themselves, concerning any of which no man could lay any thing to their charge; and that they did not live like the great men of *his people*, of whom God himself has left this reproachful character, That their *Princes were companions of thieves, every one loving gifts, and following after rewards.*

Dial. cum Tryph. p. 308.

Nay,

Nay, *Trypho* himſelf bears them this teſtimony, though doubtleſs he intended it as a reproach to them, that having from a vain report choſen *Chriſt* to be their *Maſter*, they did for his ſake fooliſhly undervalue and throw away all the enjoyments and advantages of this world. Amongſt us (ſays *Tatian*) there is no affectation of *vain-glory*, no *diverſity* of ſentiments and opinions, but ſeparating our ſelves from all vulgar and earthly thoughts and diſcourſes, and having given up our ſelves to the commands of God to be govern'd by his Law, we abandon whatever ſeems but a-kin to humane glory. They never met with opportunities to have advantaged and enriched themſelves, but they declined and turned them off with a noble ſcorn. When *Abgarus* the *Toparch* of *Edeſſa* offered *Thaddæus* (one of the Seventy Diſciples) great ſumms of Gold and Silver for the pains he had taken, and the great things he had done amongſt them, he refuſed them with this anſwer, *To what purpoſe ſhould we receive good things from others, who have freely forſaken and renounced our own?* As indeed in thoſe times friends and relations, houſes and lands were

Part 2. *Ibid. p.* 226.

Orat. cont. Gra. p. 167

Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 1. *c.* 15. *p.* 35.

Part 2. chearfully parted with, when they ſtood in competition with Chriſt; they could content themſelves with the moſt naked poverty, ſo it might but conſiſt with the profeſſion of the Goſpel.

Martyr. ejus apud Sur. ad diem 5. Feb. hom. 1. ex S. Metaph.

When *Quintianus* the Preſident under *Decius* the Emperour asked *Agatha* the Virgin-Martyr, why being deſcended of ſuch Rich and *Illuſtrious* Parents, ſhe would ſtoop to ſuch low and mean Offices as ſhe took upon her; She preſently anſwered him, *Our Glory and Nobility lies in this, that we are the Servants of Chriſt.* To the ſame purpoſe was the anſwer of *Quintinus* the Martyr under the *Diocleſian* Perſecution, when the Preſident asked him how it came about, that he being a *Roman* Citizen, & the Son of a *Senator* would truckle under ſuch a *Superſtition*, and worſhip him for a *God*, whom the *Jews* had *Crucified*; the Martyr told him, That it was the higheſt Honour and Nobility to know and ſerve God: that the Chriſtian Religion, which he call'd Superſtition, ought not to be traduc'd with ſo *baſe* a name, ſeeing it immediately guided its followers to the higheſt degrees of happineſs; for herein

Apud Sur. ad 31. Oct. tom. 5.

in it is that the Omnipotent God is revealed, the great Creator of Heaven and Earth, and his Son *Jesus Christ* our Lord, by whom all things were made, and who is in all things equal to his Father. Part 2.

The simplicity of Christians then kept them from aspiring after honour and greatness, and if it at any time advanced to it, their great care was to *keep themselves unspotted from the world*; as *Nazianzen* reports of his brother *Cæsarius*, chief *Physician* to the Emperour *Constantius*, that though he was very dear to him (as he was to the whole Court) and advanced by him every day to greater honours and dignities, yet *this* (*says he*) *was the chief of all*, that he suffered not the *Nobility* of his soul to be *corrupted* by that Glory, and those delights that were round about him: but accounted this his chiefest honour that he was a *Christian*; in comparison of which all things else were to him but as a sport and *Pageantry*; he looked upon other things but as *Comick Scenes*, soon up and as soon over; but upon *Piety* as the most safe and permanent good, and which we can properly call our own, regarding

In Laud. Cæsar. frat. Orat. 10. p. 166.

that

Part 2. that Piety especially which is most inward and unseen to the world.

In Laud. Gorgon. Orat. 11. *p.* 183. The like he relates of his Sister *Gorgonia*, as the perfection of her excellent temper, that she did not more *seem* to be good, than she did really strive to *be* so; peculiarly conversant in those secret acts of piety, which are visible only to him, who sees what is *hidden and secret*; to the Prince of this world she left nothing, transferring all into those safe and cœlestial treasuries that are above; she left nothing to the earth but her body, changing all things for the hopes of a better life; bequeathing no other *riches* to her children but an excellent *pattern*, and a desire to follow her example. The truth is, as to estate, they were not concern'd for more than what would supply the *necessities* of nature, or the *wants* of others, not sollicitous to get or possess such revenues as might make them the objects either of mens *envy* or their *fear*; as may appear amongst others by this instance.

Euseb. lib. 3. *c.* 20. *p.* 89. *Domitian* the Emperour being inform'd that there were yet remaining some of Christs *Kindred according to the flesh* (the Nephews of *Judas* the Brother

Brother of our *Lord*; of the Race and Part 2.
Posterity of *David*, which the Emperour sought utterly to extirpate) he sent for them, enquired of them whether they were of the *Line of David*, they answered they were; he ask'd what possessions and *estate* they had, they told him they had between them *thirty nine acres of land* (to the value of about *nine thousand pence*) out of the fruits whereof they both paid him *Tribute*, and *maintained* themselves with their own hard labour, whereto the *hardness* and *callousness* of their hands (which they then shew'd him) bore witness: He then ask'd them concerning *Christ* and the state of his *Kingdome*; to which they answered, that his *Empire was not of this world*, but Heavenly and Angelical, and which should finally take place in the end of the world, when he should come *with glory to judge both the quick and the dead, and to reward men according to their works*: which when he heard, despising the men upon the account of their meanness, he let them go without any severity against them. Of *Origen* we read, that he was so great a despiser of the world, that when he might have liv'd

Euseb. lib. 6. c. 3. p. 205.

Part 2. liv'd upon the maintenance of others, he would not, but parted with his *Library* of Books to one that was to allow him only *four oboli* a day; the day he ſpent in laborious tasks and exerciſes, and the greateſt part of the night in ſtudy; he alwayes remembred that precept of our Saviour, *Not to have two coats, not to wear ſhooes, not anxiouſly to take care for to morrow*, nor would he accept the kindneſs of others, when they would freely have given him ſome part of their eſtate to live on.

Not that the Chriſtians of thoſe times thought it *unlawful* to poſſeſs eſtates, or to uſe the bleſſings of Divine Providence; for though in thoſe times of perſecution they were often forc'd to quit their eſtates and habitations, yet did they preſerve their *Proprieties* intire, and induſtriouſly mind the *neceſſary* conveniencies of this life, ſo far as was *conſiſtent* with their care of a better. There were indeed a ſort of Chriſtians call'd *Apoſtolici*, who in a fond imitation of the *Apoſtles* left all they had, and gave up themſelves to a voluntary poverty, holding it not lawfull to poſſeſs any thing: hence they were alſo call'd *Apotactici*, or *renouncers*, becauſe

becauſe they quitted and renounc'd whatſoever they had; but they were ever accounted infamous *Hereticks*: They were, as *Epiphanius* tells us, the deſcendants of *Tatian*, part of the old *Cathari* and *Encratitæ*: together with whom they are put in a Law of the Emperour *Theodoſius*, and reckon'd amongſt the vileſt of the Manichæan Hereticks: mentioned alſo by *Julian* the *Apoſtate* as a branch of the *Galilæans*, as he calls the Chriſtians, by him compar'd to the *Cynic Philoſophers* amongſt the Heathens, for the neglecting of their Countrey, the abandoning of their eſtates and goods, and their looſe and rambling courſe of life; only herein different, that they did not as thoſe *Galilæan Apotactiſtæ* run up and down under a pretence of poverty to beg alms. The truth is, by the account which both he and *Epiphanius* give of them, they ſeem to have been the very *Patriarchs* and primitive founders of thoſe *Mendicant* Orders, and profeſſors of *vowed* poverty which ſwarm ſo much in the Church of *Rome* at this day. But to return; The Chriſtians of thoſe dayes did not ſtudy thoſe Arts of *ſplendor* and *gallantry* which

Part 2.

Cont. Apoſtolic. Hæreſ. 61. pag. 220.

Cod. Theod. lib. 16. Tit. 5. de Hæreticis l. 7.

De Cynic. Sect. Orat. 7. p. 417.

Part 2. which have ſince over-run the world, ſtately Palaces, coſtly furniture, rich hangings, free tables, curious beds, veſſels of Gold and Silver, the very poſſeſſion of which (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* ſpeaks) creates envy; they are rare to *get*, hard to *keep*, and it may be not ſo accommodate to uſe. Will not a knife cut as well (*ſayes he*) though it have not an *Ivory-haft*, or be not garniſhed with *ſilver*? or an *earthen* baſon ſerve to waſh the hands? will not the *table* hold our proviſions, unleſs its feet be made of *Ivory*? or the Lamp give its *light* though made by a *Potter*, as well as if 'twere the work of the *Goldſmith*? may not a man ſleep as well upon a *mean* couch, as upon a *bed* of *Ivory*? upon a *Goats skin*, as well as upon a *purple* or *Phenician* carpet? Our *Lord* ate his meat out of a *common* diſh, & made his followers ſit upon the *graſs*, and *waſhed* his Diſciples feet, without ever fetching down a *ſilver bowle* from Heaven; he took the water which the *Samaritaneſs* had drawn in an *earthen pitcher*, not requiring one of gold, ſhewing how eaſie it was to quench his thirſt; for he reſpected the *uſe*, not the vain and ſuperfluous ſtate of things.

Paedag. lib. 2. c. 3. p. 160, 161.

This

This and much more he there urges to this excellent purpoſe, to let us ſee how little a Chriſtian need be beholden to the world, if he be content with what's enough for the neceſſary uſes of humane life. Part 2.

To this let me annex ſome part of that diſcourſe which *Gregory Nyſſen* has upon this ſubject: The fluid and tranſitory condition of mans life (*ſayes he*) calls for a daily *reparation* of the decays of nature: he therefore that looks no further than to miniſter to the *deſires* of nature, and troubles not himſelf with vain anxious thoughts for more than's *neceſſary*, lives little leſs than the life of *Angels*, whilſt by a mind content with little he imitates their want of nothing. For this cauſe we are commanded to ſeek only what's enough to keep the body in its due ſtate and temper, and thus to addreſs our Prayers to God, *give us our daily bread*: Give us *bread*, not *delicacies* or *riches*, not ſplendid and purple *veſtures*, or rich golden *ornaments*, not *Pearls* and Jewels, ſilver *veſſels*, large *fields* and great *poſſeſſions*, not the government of *Armies*, the conduct of *Wars*, and diſpoſal of *Nations*, not numerous

De Orat. Domin. Orat. 5. p. 745. tom. 1. Vid. Cypri. de Orat. Dom. p. 192.

Part 2. merous *flocks* and herds of cattle, or multitudes of *slaves* and servants, not splendor and *gallantry* in publick, not marble *pillars*, or *brazen* statues, of silken *Carpets*, or *quires* of *Musick*, or any of those things by which the soul is diverted and drawn from more *Noble* and *Divine* thoughts and cares: But only *Bread*, which indeed is the true and common staff of mans life.

Minut. F. p. 10. vid. Constit. Apostol. lib. 2. c. 62. p. 886.

Nor were they more studious of *pleasures* and recreations *abroad*, than they were of fineness and bravery *at home*: They went not to publick *feasts*, nor frequented the *shews* that were made for the disport and entertainment of the people: and this was so notorious, that the Heathens charg'd it upon them as part of their *Crime*. Observe how he in *Minutius Fœlix* draws it up; The *Romans* (*sayes he*) govern and enjoy the world, while *you* in the mean time are careful and *mopish*, abstaining even from *lawful* pleasures; you visit not the *shews*, nor are present at the *pomps*, nor frequent the *publick* feasts; you abhor the holy *games*, the sacrificial *meats and drinks*, *crown* not your heads with *garlands*, nor *perfume* your bodies with sweet odours; a ghastly, fearful

fearful and miserable people! which by that time that *Octavius* the Christian comes to answer, he grants it all to be true, and tells him there was very good reason why they should abstain from their shews, pomps and divertisements, at which they could not be present without great sin and shame, without affronting their modesty, and offering a distast and horrour to their minds; and indeed they reckon'd themselves particularly oblig'd to this by what they had vow'd and undertaken at their baptism, when they solemnly engaged to *renounce the Devil and all his works, pomps and pleasures, i. e.* (says St. *Cyril*) the sights and sports of the *Theatre*, and such like *vanities*. The truth is, they look'd upon the publick sports and pastimes of those dayes as the *Scenes* not only of *folly* and *lewdness*, but of great *impiety* and *Idolatry*; as places where the *Devil* eminently rul'd, and reckon'd all his *Votaries* that came thither. Accordingly *Tertullian* tells us of a *Christian woman* who going to the *Theatre*, was there *possessed* by the Devil; and when the Evil Spirit at his casting out was ask'd, how he durst set upon a *Christian*; he presently answer-

Part 2. Pag. 30.

Catech. Myst. 1. p. 510.

De Spect. c. 26. p. 83.

Part 2. ed, *I did but what was fit and juſt, for I found her upon my own ground.*

Being thus affected towards the world, they could very willingly *part* with any thing that was deareſt to them, *Friends*, *Eſtate*, *Liberty*, or *Life* it ſelf. We are not mov'd (*ſayes one of their Apologiſts*) with the loſs of our *Eſtates* which our enemies wreſt from us, nor with the *violence* that's offer'd to our *credit* and reputation, or if there be any thing of greater concernment than theſe; for although theſe things are mightily priz'd and valued amongſt men, yet can we deſpiſe and ſleight them: nay, we cannot only when *beaten*, refrain from *ſtriking* again, and make no *reſiſtance* againſt thoſe that invade and ſpoil us; but to them that *ſmite one cheek*, *we can turn the other*, *and to them that take away the coat*, *we can let them take the cloak alſo*. And I remember *Nazianzen* tells us, that of thoſe excellencies and endowments which God had given him, *health*, *wealth*, *eſteem*, and *eloquence*, he reaped this only benefit, that he had ſomething which he could *contemn*, and by which he could ſhew that he infinitely valued *Chriſt* before them. The great-

Athen. leg. pro Chriſt. p. 2.

Orat. 1. p. 32.

eſt

eſt endearment of this life is *Relations*, and yet theſe too they could quietly reſign when God called for them: Memorable it is what *St. Hierom* reports of *Melania* (a Lady of great Piety in his time, in whoſe commendation *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Noſa* ſpends a very large Epiſtle, eſpecially commending her for her *generous* and heroick mind, *tam viriliter Chriſtiana*, that ſhe was ſomething above a woman, and had the *Maſculine* ſpirit of a Chriſtian: of this Lady *St. Hierom* tells us) that her *Husband* lying dead by her, ſhe loſt *two of her ſons* at the ſame time; and when every one expected that ſhe ſhould break out into a violent paſſion, tear her hair, rent her garments, and burſt into tears; ſhe ſtood ſtill, and at laſt falling down as 'twere at the feet of *Chriſt*, broke out into this pious and Chriſtian reſentment, *Lord, I ſhall ſerve thee more nimbly and readily, by being eaſed of the weight thou haſt taken from me.* Nay, ſo little kindneſs had they for this world, that they cared not how *little* they ſtayed in it, and therefore readily offered themſelves to *Martyrdom* at every turn. *Tertullian* tells his adverſaries, that all thoſe plagues which

Part 2.

Ad Paul. tom. 1. p. 160.

Epiſt. lib 2. *Epiſt.* 2.

Apol. c. 41. *p.* 33.

Part 2. which God sent upon the world, what damage soever they might do their enemies, could not hurt them, because they had no other concernment in this world, than *as soon* as they could to *get out* of it. This he elsewhere tells us, the very *Gentiles* assign'd as one reason, why the Christians were train'd up in a defiance of all the sports and pleasures of this life, that they might be more willing to dye; and that the cords being cut by which they were tedder'd to this world, they might be more nimble and expedite for their passage hence. Their main designs were intent upon the happiness of another world, and therefore they regarded not what they went thorough to come sooner to it. Being inflamed (sayes *Justin Martyr*) with the desire of a pure and an *eternal* life, we breath after an *intimate* converse with God the great Parent and Creator of the world, and make haste to *seal* our confession with our *blood*; being certainly perswaded that they shall attain to this state, who by their actions study to approve themselves to God that they follow after him, and are heartily desirous of communion with him in that life, where no

De Spect. c. 1. p. 73.

Apol. 2. p. 57.

no malice or wickedneſs ſhall take place. This was the mighty ſupport they lean'd upon, the great cordial with which they kept up their ſpirits in thoſe ſad times of ſuffering and perſecution, the firm *belief* and expectation which they had of enjoying God in a better life. They knew, that the more haſt their enemies made to *break open the cage* of their bodies, the ſooner their ſouls would be at liberty to *fly* to the regions of bleſſedneſs and immortality. And indeed ſo much were their thoughts fixed upon this, ſo oft did they uſe to comfort one another by diſcourſing of that *Kingdome* which they expected hereafter, that ſome of their enemies over-hearing and miſtaking them, accuſed them as *treaſonable affectors* of the *Empire*: when alas! (as *Juſtin Martyr* aſſures the *Emperours*) they meant nothing leſs; which they might know by this, that being brought to tryal, they freely confeſſed themſelves to be Chriſtians, though they certainly knew they muſt *dye* for it: whereas (*ſayes he*) did we expect an *humane Kingdome*, we would diſſemble and deny it, to avoid death, and ſo expect a more *convenient* ſeaſon to accompliſh Part 2. *Ibid. p. 58.*

Part 2. our deſigns; but ſince our hopes are not placed in any thing in this world, we regard not thoſe that take away our lives, well knowing they take nothing from us, but what we muſt needs lay down our ſelves. It was their care then continually to *keep company* with *dying* thoughts, and to dwell within the proſpect of eternity; it being generally true of all what *St. Hierom* particularly reports of *Marcella*, that ſhe *lived* ſo, as alwayes believing that ſhe ſhould immediately *dye*, and never put on her *garments*, but it put her in mind of her *grave*, and of the *ſheet* that ſhould wrap her up in the *houſe of ſilence*.

Epitaph. Marcell. ad Princip. p. 119.

But beſides the influence which the expectation of their particular *diſſolutions* had upon them, there was one thing which I doubt not did mightily contribute to their being *wean'd* from the world, and did ſtrongly animate them to a quick and ſpeedy diligence about the affairs of the other life, and that was, the *Opinion* they generally had of the *day of judgment being near at hand*: An *Opinion* ſtarted early, as appears by that caution which *St. Paul* gives the *Theſſalonians* about it; and it

Theſ. 2 3,4.

laſted

laſted for ſome Ages after, as is evident from ſeveral paſſages in *Tertullian*, who always improves it to this purpoſe, that men ſhould not unneceſſarily *encounter* themſelves with the affairs of this life, but carry themſelves as thoſe that were immediately paſſing hence. I conclude with that of *Juſtin Martyr*; Chriſtians (*ſayes he*) *dwell* in their own countries, but as *inmates* and *forreigners*; they have all things *common* with other men as *fellow-Citizens*, and yet ſuffer all things as *ſtrangers* and *forreigners*: every *forreign Region* is their *Country*, and every Country is *forreign* to them: They *marry* like other men, and beget children, but do not *expoſe* or neglect their Off-ſpring; they *feaſt* in common, but do not *exceed* like other men; they *are in the fleſh*, but do not *live after the fleſh*; dwell upon *earth*, but their *converſation is in Heaven*. Therefore he compares Chriſtians in this world to the *ſoul* in the *body*, as for other reaſons, ſo eſpecially for this, that as the ſoul lives *in* the body, but is not *of* the body, ſo Chriſtians dwell *in* the world, but are not *of* the world; an *immortal ſpirit* dwells in a *mortal tabernacle*, and Chriſtians,

Part 2.

Vid. de cult. fœmin. lib. 2. c. 9. ad uxor. lib. 1. c. 5.

Epiſt. ad Diognet. p. 497.

Part 2. while they sojourn in these *corruptible* mansions, expect and look for an *incorruptible* state in Heaven.

CHAP. III.

Of their sobriety, in respect of their Garb and Apparel.

Much of the temper of the mind shewn in the outward garb. The great ends of clothes, for honesty, necessity, distinction. The Primitive Christians accommodated themselves to these. Carefull to avoid both singularity and excess. Generally conformable to the sober fashions of the places where they liv'd. Whether when they turn'd Christian they left off the Roman gown, and took up the Pallium *or Cloak*; à Toga ad Pallium : *the occasion of* Tertullians *writing his excellent Book on that subject. The* Pallium *principally worn by those that entred upon a life of more than ordinary strictness. Their great care to keep a medium between costliness and sordidness. This accounted part of that pomp and vanity which they*

they renounc'd in baptiſm. The va- Part 2.
nity of exceſſive garbs and ſinery com-
plain'd of by the Fathers in ſome of
thoſe times. Eſpecially invective a-
gainſt methods of artificial beauty;
what pleaded in defence of it by ſome
perſons in thoſe dayes, conſidered and
anſwered out of the Fathers. That
they were rich, no ſufficient argument
to patronize the doing of it. Better
ways of imploying their eſtates. Nor
that they could do it without violating
their chaſtity. The inconveniencies of
it with reſpect to others. That they
did it to pleaſe their Husbands, An-
ſwered: This needleſs; every wiſe and
good man content without it. Such
Arts ſavour'd too much of lewd wanton
Proſtitutes. Painting, and ſuch Arts
injurious to God, and diſparagement
of his workmanſhip. This largely pro-
ſecuted out of Tertullian *and* Cy-
prian. *A memorable ſtory which*
Theodoret *relates of his own Mother.*
True beauty accounted to lye in a holy
and vertuous mind, and a pure and
pious life. Gay and phantaſtick per-
ſons fitly repreſented by the Ægyptian
temples. Nazianzen's *deſcription of*
his good Siſter Gorgonia.

The

Part 2.

THe Primitive Chriſtians being thus eminent for their contempt of the world, 'tis eaſy to imagine that they were very *temperate* and *abſtemious* in the uſe of all the pleaſures and conveniences of humane life, which we ſhall more particularly conſider in theſe three inſtances, their *Sobriety* in reſpect of *Garb* and *Apparel*, their *Temperance* in regard of *food* and *diet*, and their *Continence* or *chaſtity*.

For the firſt, the *care* about our **Garb** and **Dreſs**, it is one of thoſe inſtances of *Sobriety* which are to be conducted by the rules of Religion and Reaſon, and which very much diſcover a vertuous or a vicious temper: *There are three* (as the *Son of Syrach* well obſerves) *that ſhew a man what he is, his Attire, exceſſive Laughter, and his Gate*: There is not certainly a more open evidence of a *vain mind*, than a *vain garb* and habit. *St. Baſil* diſcourſing what habit does beſt beſeem a *Chriſtian*, tells us in general, that it ought to be ſuch as moſt lively expreſſes the meekneſs and humility of the mind, that good men of old were ſo attired, and that we are commanded, *having food and raiment*

Reg. fuſ. diſput. interreg. 22. p. 566. tom. 2.

ment to be therewith content; not ſtudying *variety*, and which moſt commonly follows it, *ſoftneſs* and *elegancy*, which are but inſtruments to miniſter to exceſs and luxury, introduced into humane life through the idle and unneceſſary Arts of looſneſs and effeminacy. 'Tis not enough (ſayes *Tertullian*) that a Chriſtian be *chaſt* and modeſt, but he muſt *appear* to be ſo; a vertue, of which he ſhould have ſo great a ſtore and treaſure, that it ſhould flow from his *mind* upon his *habit*, and break from the retirements of his *conſcience* into the ſuperficies of his *life*, as he there expreſſes it. More particularly *St. Baſil* tells us, that the habit of a Chriſtian ought to be ſuitable to the two great *ends* of clothing inſtituted by God, *viz. Honeſty* and *Neceſſity*; *honeſty* to hide the leſs comly parts of the body, and to cover that ſhame which ſin has brought upon mankind: in Paradiſe *Innocency* was mans only *robe*, 'twas ſin brought in the *fig-leav'd* coat, and what ſhould more induce us to be modeſt in our apparel, than to remember, that our clothes are *Monitors* of our apoſtacy, and that there's little reaſon we ſhould *pride* our ſelves in that

Part 2.

De cultu famin. lib. 2. c. 13. p. 160.

Ibid. p. 567.

Part 2. that which is only a cover for our *ſhame? Neceſſity*, and ſo clothes were deſigned to keep the body in convenient *warmth*, and to defend it from thoſe injuries and extremities of the air and weather, which would otherwiſe ſoon rot down this houſe of clay. Now to both theſe ends (he tells us) we ought to accommodate our garments, not ſtriving for variety, having ſome for uſes at home, others for oſtentation when we go abroad, but that whatever attains theſe ends is enough. But beſides theſe, there is a third *Uſe* and end of cloths, noted by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and that is for *diſtinction*, not only of *Sexes*, but of different *ranks* and *degrees* of men, ſuch as agree beſt to mens *age*, *perſons*, *ſhape*, *nature*, or their ſeveral *ſtates* and *employments*; in theſe reſpects men may uſe different and diſtinguiſhing habits: nay, he grants that in ſome caſes men may recede from the ſtrict rule and diſcipline of this affair, and that ſuch women as cannot otherwiſe gain upon their husbands, may (if they require it) go a little more *trim* and neat, provided (as he there limits it) it be done *only* to pleaſe and gain upon their huſbands, and

Vid. Cyril. ad Illumin. Catec. 4. p. 94.

Pædag. lib. 3. c. 11. p. 245.

and that they do not practiſe any Arti- Part 2.
fices of *unlawful* beauty.

Now that the *ancient Chriſtians* govern'd themſelves by theſe rules in this affair is plain, in that they avoided both *ſingularity* on the one hand, and *exceſs* on the other, generally conforming themſelves to the *decent* and *orderly* cuſtomes and faſhions of the times and places *where* they liv'd. *Juſtin Martyr* giving his friend an account of the Chriſtians, tells him, that they differ'd not from other men either in their *Country*, or *Speech*, or the *uſages* of the civil life; they dwell in their own Cities, uſe the ſame language with other men, nor have they any ſingular and extraordinary way of life; they are not in any thing affected or phantaſtick; but inhabiting partly amongſt *Greeks*, partly in *barbarous* Cities, as every ones lot is fallen, they follow the cuſtomes of their Countrey; and both in clothes and diet, and all other affairs of outward life, ſhew the excellent and admirable conſtitution of their diſcipline and converſation. I am not ignorant of what ſome learned men would have us to believe, that in thoſe times when any turn'd from *Paganiſm* to

Epiſt. ad Diogn. p. 496.

Part 2. to *Christianity* they were wont to *change* their *habit*, to leave off the *Toga* or *Gown* (the common habit almost in all parts of the *Roman* Empire) and to *take* up the *Pallium* or *Cloak*: and this they think sufficiently countenanc'd by the instance of *Tertullian*, who laying aside the Gown, and putting on the Cloak, was accused of lightness and inconstancy by the people of *Carthage*, and bitterly persecuted with the common sarcasm, *à Toga ad Pallium*, as one that had wantonly skipp'd from the *Gown* to the *Cloak*, *i. e.* from one profession to another; insomuch that he was forc'd to write an Apology for himself, which he did in his book *de Pallio*, where with a great deal of satyrical and sarcastick wit he retorts upon them, and vindicates himself from their charge and cavils. But that there was any such *change* of habit at persons first coming over to Christianity, I can see no reason to believe; and for the case of *Tertullian* it makes nothing to the purpose, unless it could be prov'd that he left off the *gown* at his first entrance upon the *Christian* Religion, which will be hard to make out; for I am clearly of the mind of the learned *Salmasius*,

Salmaſius, that he altered his habit, and assumed the *cloak* not when he first became *Christian*; but when he was made *Presbyter* of the Church of *Carthage*; whence it is called by him according to his dialect *Sacerdos habitus* (for so it is in all ancient *Manuscripts*, and in the first *Edition* of B. *Rhenanus*, and not *sacer habitus*, as later Editions have it) the *Priests habit*; because the *Christian Priests* usually wore it after their entrance upon Holy Orders. For the better understanding of which, we are to consider a little, that amongst the *Greeks* the *Pallium* or Cloak was not commonly worn, but was the proper habit of *Philosophers*, who profes'd a more severe and accurate course of life. Accordingly amongst the *Christians* those who professed themselves to be ἀκριβεῖς, the more *strict* and exact observers of the Christian discipline, whether they were *Laity* or *Clergy*, assumed this habit to themselves; and because the Clergy in those times generally took upon them this austere and philosophick way of life, this garb was most peculiar to them; and this probably they did the rather, not only because this was the most plain and simple garment

Part 2.

Præfat. in Comment. Tertul. de Pallio. *Tertul. de Pall. c. 4. Vid. Tertul. ex Edit. B. Rhenani, p. 620. vid. etiam Salm. in loc.*

Part 2. ment in it self, but because they supposed the *Apostles* (whom they strove to imitate) wore this habit, as is plain they did as from other passages in the *New Testament*, so from *St. Pauls* sending for *the Cloak which he left at Troas*: therefore the Author of the *Apostolical History*, who shelters himself under the name of *Abdias Babylonius*, certainly forgot himself, when describing the habit of *St. Bartholomew* the *Apostle*, he made it so trim and fine. *Vestitus* (says he) *Colore* (doubtless it should be *Colobio*) *albo*, *&c.* he was clothed in a *white* coat, beset with studs of *purple*, over which he had a white *Cloak*, having purple *gemms* at each corner of it; a piece of gallantry unknown to the plainness of those times, and unsuitable to the profession of that Holy man. Indeed, as plenty and prosperity began to flow in upon the Church, this simple and modest garment was laid aside, and the Clergy took upon them a more rich and splendid garb; insomuch that when *Eustathius* Bishop of *Sebastia* took upon him to wear the *Philosophick Cloak*, and perswaded his followers also to use it; he was for this very reason deposed by his own Father *Eulalius*, Bishop

Lib. 8. fol. 96. p. 2.

Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 43. p. 156. vid. Concil. Gangr. Can. 12.

Bishop of *Cesarea*, because wearing a habit unsuitable to the Ministerial Order, which sentence was not long after ratified by the Synod of *Gangra*, and a *Canon* made against it. Part 2,

From what has been said it may appear, that although the *Clergy*, and such as entred upon a more strict and *ascetick* course of life had a habit peculiar to themselves, yet the generality of Christians differed not from the *common* garb. They were indeed exceeding careful to avoid all such as savoured of *costliness* and *finery*, choosing such as expressed the greatest lowliness and innocency. The garment that we should wear (says *Clemens* of *Alexandria*) ought to be mean and frugal, not *curiously* wrought with divers colours (the emblem of *craftiness* and *deceit*) but *white*, to denote our embracing and professing *simplicity* and truth; our outward clothing is an indication of the temper of our manners: that's true *simplicity* of habit, which takes away what's vain and superfluous; that the best and most solid garment, which is furthest from art and curiosity, and most apt to preserve and keep warm the body. *S. Cyprian* ever observ'd a due

Ib. ubi supr. p. 244

Pont. diac. in vit Cypr. p. 12.

Part 2. due *decorum* in his *garb* as well as his *countenance*; his aspect was *grave* and yet *chearful*; neither a frowning *severity*, nor an over-pleasant *merrinesse*, but such a happy mixture of both, that it was hard to say, whether he was more to be *fear'd* or *lov'd*, but that he equally deserv'd both: and just such was his *garb*, sober and moderate, keeping a just distance both from *slovenlinesse* and *superfluity*; it neither argued him to be swell'd with pride, nor infected with a miserable and sordid mind. *Chrysostome* amongst other things especially commends *Olympias* (a woman of great birth and estate, and of no less piety) for the incredible modesty and meanness of her attire, not much better than that of the poorest beggar; having nothing in her garb or gate that was *feigned* or *gaudy*, nothing elaborate or artificial; which things (*sayes he*) were the colours, the bright and beautiful representations of her vertue, whereby that wisdome and *divine* Philosophy that lay hidden in her mind, was externally painted and shadowed out. So far were they then from the vanity and affectation of pomp and bravery, of dazling the eye with rich costly

Ad Olymp. Ep. 2. tom. 4. p. 617, & 623.

costly ornaments, that they thought they could never seem mean enough, and this they look'd upon themselves as especially bound to by the *promise* which they had made at *Baptism*, when they *renounc'd* the *Devil*, and his whole *pomp* and *service*, as the same *Father* elsewhere informs us. Part 2. *Hom. 21. ad pop. Antioch. tom. 1. p. 2. 4.*

It cannot be denied, but that the Fathers frequently complain of, & smartly declaim against the vanity and folly of some in those times (women especially, by the *weakness* of their sex more propense to the excesses of pride and superfluity) who gave up themselves to all the arts of fineness and gallantry, and out of an emulation to the Ladies amongst the *Heathens* amongst whom they liv'd, they affected all manner of *pomp* and *elegancy*, striving to be as rich and gaudy, not as they *ought*, but as they *could* make themselves; whose excessive prodigality *Tertullian* does thus no less *elegantly* than *sarcastically* describe; A *great* estate (*sayes he*) is drawn out of a *little* pocket; it's nothing to expend * *many thousand pounds* upon one string of *pearls*, a *weak* tender neck can make a shift to carry about *whole Woods and Lordships*; vast summs *De Cult. Fœm. lib. 1. c. 8. p. 153.* * *In the Lat.* decies sestertiûm; *which in our money is seventy eight thousand one hundred and twelve pound, ten shillings.*

Part 2. of money borrowed of the *Banker*, and noted in his account book to be repay'd every month with interest, are weighed at the *beam* of a thin slender *car*; so great is the strength of pride and ambition, that even the *weak* feeble body of one woman shall be able to carry the *weight* and substance of so many pounds taken up at *Usury*. This was look'd upon as a very great sin. *Clemens Alexandrinus* censures it very deep; that though gluttony and intemperance be great vices, yet not to be compar'd with a *nice over-curious* study of fineness and bravery: I suppose he means in respect of its insatiable and unbounded nature. For so he adds; A well-furnish'd table, and cups that go round may quickly stop the mouth of a hungry stomach: but where there is a nice affectation of *bravery*, of *Gold*, *Purple*, or *Jewels*, there not the treasures of the *Creation*, not what's *above*, or *under* ground, not the spoyles of the *Tyrian* Sea, not the fraights from *India*, or *Ethiopia*, no nor *Pactolus* with his golden streams would suffice. Nay, such persons though as rich as *Midas*, would not yet think themselves rich or fine enough. But that which the Fa-

Pædag. lib. 3. c. 2. p. 219.

thers

thers do most severely censure and cry out against, is not only the *expence* and costlinesse of their cloths and jewels, but the *arts* which they used to add *greater* beauty and handsomnes to themselves, than God and Nature had bestowed upon them. This it seems the pride and folly of some *Christian* women had arriv'd to, which the zeal and piety of those times did vehemently condemn and protest against. It may not be amiss to consider, what the *Gallants* of those times *pleaded* for themselves, and what was returned in *answer* to them. Sometimes they pleaded that they were *rich*, and had great estates, and ought therefore to live *like themselves*, and to make use of the estates that God had given them. To this *Cyprian* answers, that they only are *truly* rich, that are rich *in* and *towards* God; that the world ought to be *despised*, the *pomps* and *delights* whereof we then *renounc'd*, when we happily turn'd to God, with the *love* of whom *all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life is not consistent*; that the use of riches in this case is to be governed by just and moderate measures: the Apo-

De discipl. & habit. virgin. p. 164.

Part 2.

Part 2. ſtle commanding all women how rich ſoever, *to adorn themſelves in modeſt apparel, with ſhamefaſtneſs and ſobriety, not with broidred hair, or gold or pearls or coſtly array; but (which becomes women profeſſing Godlineſs) with good works.* *S. Peter* alſo requiring of them not the *outward* adorning of gold or fine apparel, but the *hidden ornament of the heart*; that though they were rich, yet they were to conſult the honour and modeſty of their profeſſion, and might not go to the *utmoſt* bounds of what was lawful, ſome things being *lawful*, which were not *expedient*, eſpecially when by their wanton and laſcivious dreſs they might be a means to kindle in the breaſts of others the flames of an unchaſt and unlawful paſſion, and ſo prove the occaſion of their ruine; that if they thought themſelves bound to uſe the eſtate that God had given them, God had ſhewn them a *more excellent way*, to relieve the *hungry*, and feed the *poor members of Chriſt*, that this was the beſt art of improving riches, and the way to lay them up in ſafe and unfailing treaſuries, where we may be ſure to reap the fruit of them another day, and not to throw them away

Vid. Conſtit. Apoſt. lib 1. *c.* 3. *p.* 804.

away upon arts of beauty, upon vain and phantaſtick dreſſes. This is the ſum of that good man's reaſonings in the caſe. Part 2.

Sometimes they pleaded, that they might beautifie and honour the body without any danger of violating their *chaſtity*, or ſetting open the caſement for luxury to fly in upon them. *Tertullian* anſwers, Let them that had a mind to't glory in the *fleſh*, that for us we have no deſigns of glory, partly as being highly *unſuitable* to us, who by the law of God are under the profeſſion of *humility*; partly becauſe all glory (to us eſpecially) is vain and ſwelling, how much more that which ariſes from the fleſh; if we muſt glory, 'tis much fitter for us who follow *ſpiritual* things to pleaſe our ſelves in the *excellencies* of the *ſpirit* than in thoſe of the *fleſh*; let us rejoyce in thoſe things, about which we are employed, and ſeek *glory* from thoſe things, from which we hope for *ſalvation*. A Chriſtian may indeed *glory* in the fleſh, but it is when for the ſake of *Chriſt* it is *torn* in pieces, that the *ſpirit* may be crowned, not that it may prove a ſnare to attract the eyes and ſighs of young

De cult. fœmin. lib. 2. c. 3. p. 155.

Part 2. mens ungovernable paſſions after it; then, when 'tis tormented for confeſſing the *Chriſtian* name, when a *woman* is found ſtronger than the *men* that torment her, when ſhe ſuffers *fires*, or *croſſes*, or *ſwords*, or *wild-beaſts*, that ſhe may receive the crown; theſe (ſays *Cyprian*) are the precious *jewels* of the fleſh, theſe the much better *ornaments* of the *body*. So that (as *Tertullian* goes on) beauty being altogether ſo unuſeful to us, ought to be *deſpiſed* by them that *want* it, and to be *neglected* by them that *have* it: a good woman that's content with her own native beauty, has not that occaſion to betray her to luſt and folly; and if ſhe had, it would become her not to *promote*, but *hinder* it. Sometimes again they pretended, they did it only to *pleaſe* their *Husbands*, and that they might appear more *lovely* and *acceptable* to them: to which Plea, as being moſt ſpecious and plauſible, I obſerve eſpecially *Three* things return'd by way of anſwer.

Vt ſupr. p. 163.

Tert. ibid. c. 4.

Id. ibid.

Firſt, That to deſign the pleaſing of their Husbands by ſuch Arts as theſe, was altogether *needleſs*, ſeeing every wiſe and good man cannot but like his wife

wife beſt without them. No wife (ſays *Tertullian*) can ſeem *deformed* to her own Huſband, who doubtleſs was well enough pleaſed with her, either for her *temper*, or her *beauty* when he firſt made choice of her: Let none fear their Husbands will more diſtaſt and diſlike them for abſtaining from *artificial* compoſitions, for every husband is a rigid exacter of his wifes chaſtity; and conſequently they can be of no advantage to this end, whether he be a *believing* or an *unbelieving* Huſband, a *Gentile* or a *Chriſtian*: If a *Chriſtian*, then he will not require any ſuch *forreign* beauty, as not being taken with thoſe accompliſhments, which the Gentiles do account ſo; if a *Gentile*, then according to that vile opinion which they have of us *Chriſtians*, let her do what ſhe can, he will ſuſpect her to be naught: For whoſe ſake therefore ſhould ſhe ſo curiouſly dreſs, ſo delicately nurſe and nouriſh up her beauty; for a *believing* Huſband? he requires it not; for an *Infidel?* hee'l never believe it to be *true*; why then ſhould ſhe ſo much deſire to *pleaſe* either one that *ſuſpects* it, or one that does not *deſire* it? Part 2.

Secondly,

Part 2. *Secondly*, That these loose delicate Arts came too near the practice of lewd wanton *prostitutes*, who made use of these wayes and tricks for no other end but to *enveagle* men into their embraces: The bravery of Ornaments and Apparel, and the additional enticements of beauty are chiefly used (as *Cyprian* tells them) by Prostitutes and Unchast women; and that no womens *garb* is more *rich* and *gaudy*, than theirs, whose *modesty* is most *vile* and *cheap*. And this he tells us the *Scripture* shadows out by the *Woman that was arrayed in purple and scarlet-colour, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication:* But chast and modest Virgins shun the dresses of the defiled, the habit of the shameless, the badges of the Stewes, the Ornaments of light wanton women. Whereas all other Creatures (sayes *Clemens Alexandrinus*) birds and beasts are content with their own natural beauty and colours; *woman* only as if she were inferiour to the beasts, thinks her self so deform'd, as that there's need to repair the defect by external bought and borrowed beauty:

Ubi supr. p. 165. *vid. Tert. de cult. fœmin. lib.* 1. *c.* 4.

Pædag. lib. 3. *c.* 2. *p.* 220.

beauty: for while by infinite Arts of curious and costly dresses (*some whereof he there particularly mentions*) they seek to *ensnare* them, who children-like are apt to admire every thing that's strange and gaudy, they shew themselves to be women that have put off shame and modesty; and whoever (*sayes he*) calls them so, shall do them no wrong, as carrying the *signs* and representations of it in their very faces. Part 2.

Thirdly, They mainly insisted upon this, that these Arts were *injurious* to *God*, and a *disparagement* to his *workman-ship*. We are not (sayes *Tertullian*) to seek after neatness and finery beyond what is *simple* and *sufficient*, and what *pleases* God; against whom they offend, who are not satisfied with his workman-ship: an argument which he there prosecutes with great severity. *S. Cyprian* treads in his *Masters* steps, and prosecutes the same argument with a great deal of zeal and sharpness; amongst other things he tells us, that these additional Arts are a bold and *sacrilegious* attempt, and an high contempt of God, that it is to *reform* what God has *form'd*, to alter and change his work, and as much as they

De Cult. Fœmin. lib. 2. c. 5. p. 156. vid. Constit. App. lib. 1. c. 8. p. 823. Cl. Alex. Pædag. lib. 3. c. 11. p. 249.

De Discipl. & hab. Virg p. 106.

can

Part 2. can to *disfigure* that person, which God has *made after his own image and likeness*: that such a one has cause to fear, lest when the day of *Resurrection* comes, he that *made* them should not *know* them, nor receive them when they come for the promised rewards. Accordingly he brings in the great *Censor* and *Judge* of the world thus speaking to such a person: *This is none of my workman-ship, nor is this our image and likeness; thou hast defil'd thy skin with false compositions, chang'd thy hair into an adulterous colour, thy face counterfeit, thy shape corrupt, thy countenance quite another thing, thou canst not behold God, thine eyes not being the same which God created, but which the Evil Spirit has infected; thou hast imitated the fiery, sparkling and glittering eyes of the Serpent: of thine enemy hast thou learnt to be over-trim and neat, and with him like to receive thy portion.* And are not these (*sayes he*) things fit to be thought of by the servants of God, and to be the daily objects of their *care* and *fear*?

Histor. Religios. c. 9. in vit. Petr. p. 343. I cannot but in this place set down a passage which *Theodoret* reports of his own *Mother*, that in her younger years having

having a distemper in one of her eyes, Part 2.
which had baffled all the Arts of *Physick*, she was at length perswaded to make her address to one *Peter*, famous for the gift of *Miracles*; who liv'd near *Antioch*, a very severe and ascetick course of life: and to render her self (as she thought) the more *considerable* in his eye, she put on all her *bravery*, her richest robes, her *pendants*, and chains of *pearl*, and whatever could render her *fine* and *splendid*. No sooner was she come to him, but the severe and *uncomplemental* man at first sight bluntly entertained her with this discourse: Tell me, *Daughter*; suppose an excellent *Artist* having drawn a picture according to all the laws and rules of Art, should expose and hang it forth to view, and another rude and unskilful *bungler* coming by should find fault with this excellent piece, and attempt to *amend* it, draw the *eye-brows* to a greater length, make the complexion *whiter*, or add more *colour* to the cheeks; would not the true Author be justly angry, that his Art was *disparaged* and undervalued, and *needless* additions made to the piece by an unskilful hand? And so 'tis here; can

we

Part 2. we think that the great *Artificer* of the world, the *Maker* and *Former* of our Nature, is not, and that justly, angry, when you *accuse* his incomprehensible Wisdom and Perfection, of Unskilfulness, and want of Knowledge? for you would not add your *reds*, *whites* or *blacks*, did you not think your bodies needed these additions; and while you think so, you *condemn* your Creator for *weakness* and *ignorance*: But know, that he has *Power* answerable to his *Will*, and as the *Psalmist* tells us, *the Lord has done all things as he pleased*: and he that takes care of what is *good* for all, would not give what is *evil* and *hurtful* unto any. Corrupt not therefore the *Image* of God, nor attempt to *add*, what he in his infinite wisdome thought not fit to *give*: study not to invent this adulterate beauty, which even to chast persons oft proves a cause of ruine, by becoming a snare to them that look upon it. The *Holy Man* said no more, and the *Young Lady* presently found her self wounded with the force of his Reasonings, but would not leave him till she had obtained the end of her errand, which he granted not without great importunity, and an humble and

and modeſt referring all to the *Grace* Part 2.
of God, and ſo ſent her home with a double cure, her *body* cured of its diſtemper, and her *mind* of its pride and vanity; and ſhe ever after led a moſt humble, ſober and pious life.

But it were to tranſcribe whole Books, to tell you what the Fathers (theſe three that I have ſo oft mention'd eſpecially) have ſaid in this caſe, the cauſe being not more *copiouſly* than *elegantly* managed by them; and thither I refer the capable Reader, who has any further curioſity for theſe things. The *true* beauty of a Chriſtian in thoſe dayes lay not in *external* and adventitious ornaments, but in the *goodneſs* and *purity* of the mind: The beauty of the body (ſayes *Clemens* of *Alexandria*) conſiſts in a *good complexion*, and in *apt ſymmetry*, and proportion of its parts; but the greateſt beauty in the world is that of the *Soul*, when tis *adorn'd* with the *Holy Spirit*, and the excellent *Graces* of it, *Juſtice*, *Prudence*, *Fortitude*, *Temperance*, the *love of Goodneſs*, and *Modeſty*, which is the brighteſt and moſt lovely ornament that the eye of man can behold: It is not (*ſayes he*) the exteriour aſpect of the *Paedag. lib.* 3. *c.* 11. *p.* 248.

Ibid. c. 2. *p.* 216.

Part 2. the man that is to be regarded, but the mind that is to be furnished and adorned with goodness and vertue; and therefore he wittily compares those women that *curiously* trick and trim up the body, but neglect how 'tis with the soul within, to the *Egyptian* Temples; look upon their *out-side*, and they are most *splendid* and *magnificent*, encompassed with delicate Groves, built with large entries, and stately *Portico's* surrounded with several rowes of *Pillars*, the walls both within and without set off with *stones* of several Countries, curiously wrought and carv'd, the Temples themselves garnish'd with *Gold*, *Silver*, *Amber*, and all the glittering and *precious* stones that *India* or *Ethiopia* can afford; but enter within them and enquire for the *Deity* that is there worshipped, and you shall be *gravely* shewed behind a curtain a *Cat*, or a *Crocodile*, or a *Serpent* of that Country, or some such *ill-favoured* beast, which is the *residentiary* or *tutelar* deity of that place. And just such (*sayes he*) do those *women* seem to me, who trim themselves with *Gold*, and are taken up in curling their hair, painting their faces, blacking their eyes, colouring

ing their locks, and other undue Arts of ſoftneſs and luxury, beautifying the *outward rayle and fence*; but if a man look within the veil and covering of the Temple, what is under all this gayneſs and finery, he ſhall be ſo far from meeting with what is truly beautiful, that it will excite his horrour and averſation; for he ſhall not find the *Image* of God dwelling there, as might reaſonably be expected; but inſtead thereof ſome *filthy* and treacherous *beaſt* that poſſeſſes the moſt inward receſſes of the Soul, a *luſtful Ape*, or that *crafty Serpent* that devours the underſtanding of a man, and turns his Soul into a *neſt* or *den*, full of moſt deadly venom, and the poyſon of his errour and deceit. Part 2.

I conclude this with the account which *S. Gregory* gives of his Siſter *Gorgonia*, that ſhe uſed no *Gold* to make her fine, no *yellow hair*, ordered into knots and curles, nor any other tricks to make her head a *Scene* and *Pageantry*, no looſe and *tranſparent* garments, no *luſtre* of ſtones and jewels, enlightning the air round about, and reflecting ſplendour upon them that wear them, no devices and arts of painting, *Nazian in Laud. Gor. Or. 11. p. 181.*

Part 2. no affectation of beauty that may be easily bought, no counter-working Gods Creation, dishonouring, reproaching, covering his workman-ship with false and deceitful colours, suffering a *spurious* & *supposititious* beauty to steal away that *natural* Image, which ought to be kept intire to God and the future state: all this was far from her; and though she very well understood the several *modes* and *garbs* of *bravery* amongst women, yet she thought none so honourable as the *manner* of her life, and that *inward* brightness that was lodg'd in her mind: the only *redness* that pleased her, was that which was the fruit of *blushing* and *modesty*; no other *whiteness* but what came through *fasting* and *abstinence*; leaving *fucus's* and *paintings*, and *living pictures*, and fading beauty to those that belong to Playes and *Theatres*, and to such, for whom to *blush* and be *ashamed* is a *shame* and a *disgrace*. To which I add that of *Tertullian*, who after he had smartly condemned and confuted the Arts of unlawful beauty, the vanity of going in too curious, costly and excessive dresses, concludes with this counsel to the women of his time, to cloth themselves

De cult. fœmin. lib. 2. c. 13. ad fin.

ſelves with the *ſilks* of *honeſty*, the *fine veſtures of piety*, the *purple* of *modeſty*; and being *thus beautified and adorn'd* (ſayes he) *God himſelf will be your Lover.* Part 2.

CHAP. IV.

Of their great Temperance and Abſtinence.

A vicious curioſity about meats and drinks a great temptation. Severely forbidden by the Chriſtian Law. The ancient Chriſtians curious only of ſuch diet as miniſtred to health. They gratified not eaſe and delicacy. The great inconveniencies of intemperance either in meats or drinks. Their chief care about ſpiritual food. For other things content with any proviſions, manifeſted in ſeveral inſtances. An over-nice and ſuperſtitious abſtinence from ſome kinds of food, condemned. The inſtance of Alcibiades *the Martyr out of* Euſebius. *Chriſtians unjuſtly accuſed by the Heathens of exceſs and prodigality in their feaſtings.*

Part 2. Thyestean *suppers laid to their charge. The charge in both parts of it denied, and fully refuted by* Tertullian, *and other Christian Apologists.*

AMongst the many temptations that beſiege the life of man, there is ſcarce any into which we are more eaſily betrayed, than into a *vicious curioſity* about meats and drinks, and the exceſſes of an unruly appetite; therefore it is that the Chriſtian Religion does ſo frequently inculcate upon us the Precepts of *Sobriety* and **Temperance**; to be *temperate in all things, to watch and be ſober, to caſt off the works of darkneſs, to walk honeſtly as in the day, not in rioting and drunkenneſs, not in chambering and wantonneſs, not in exceſs of wine, revellings, and banquetings; to take heed that our hearts be not at any time over-charged with ſurfeiting and drunkenneſs, and that we be not as the men of the old world, brutiſhly taken up with eating and drinking when the flood came and ſwept all away.* The Law of Chriſt commands us to *faſt often, to keep under the body, and to make no proviſion for the fleſh*; if nature regularly governed be content with

with *little*, Religion will teach us to be content with *less*. These Rules the first Christians exactly transcribed into their lives, being the greatest instances of real abstinence and mortification, which they both *practised* themselves, and *pressed* upon others: they knew very well that God had given men a *Charter* of freedom indifferently to use the Creatures, and to enjoy them in some degree, not only for *necessity* but *delight*; but yet were afraid to go so far as they might, or to do any thing that might look towards excess, or argue an irregular and unsober mind; they contented themselves with such provisions as were conducive to *health* and *strength*, without any studied seeking after those that were more *luscious* and *delightful*. 'Tis very true what *S. Basil* observes, that by reason of mens different *ages* and *course* of life, their different *tempers* and constitutions of body, and other circumstances, no one fixed and certain rule can be prescribed in this case: but yet our food and diet ought for the main to be regulated by the general end of it, which is not wantonly to *please* the *palat*, but to minister to *health*, and to repair the weak- Part 2.

Reg. fus. disput. interrog. 19. tom. 2. p. 560.

Part 2. neſs and decays of Nature. Many (ſays *Clemens Alexandrinus*) like brute beaſts *live* only that they may *eat*; but for us we are commanded to *eat* that we may *live*; for food and pleaſure is not the *work* and deſign for which we live in the world, our reſidence here being in order to an incorruptible life; and therefore our nouriſhment ought to be eaſie and ſimple, and ſuch as is ſubſervient to the two main ends of life, *health* and *ſtrength*. We ought to chuſe ſuch food (as *Juſtin Martyr* tells his friends) not as may gratifie our *eaſe* and *delicacy*, but make our lives *uſeful* and *ſerviceable*; and if at any time overtaken with want, we ſhould quietly acquieſce in that ſtate: and therefore a little after he ſmartly declaims againſt all exceſs. Wine (*ſayes he*) is neither to be drunk daily to *exceſs*, nor to be uſed as commonly as *water*: both indeed are Gods *Creatures*; but *water* neceſſary, *wine* given only to help and relieve the body; which [*immoderately taken*] chains up the *tongue*, ſparkles *fire* out of the *eyes*, makes the *leggs* tremble, and the underſtanding being gone, readily takes off its cup of deadly *poyſon*; contrary to Gods Ordination

Paedag. l. 2. c. 1. p. 139.

Epiſt. ad Zen. & Seren. p. 506.

Ibid. p. 512.

tion it turns the peaceful *instruments* of Husbandry into *Swords* and *Spears*. Part 2.
It may indeed be necessary sparingly to drink wine both Winter and Summer; but he that drinks it to *excess*, as a man that takes over-much of a medicine, like a dog or a swine betrayes his own shame. But above all men in the world it least becomes us [*Christians*] as if we were votaries to luxury, to abuse the Creatures of God, and to make use of *thirst* as a pretence to drunkenness, seeing we ought to drink no more than what will serve to *quench* our thirst; not like those who swallowing down wine, as men do drink in a burning feaver, quickly make an end of themselves through their intemperance. Nor are we less to take heed of *Gluttony*, contenting our selves with a *spare* diet, and such only as is *necessary*; not giving way to the infinite and unsatisfied cravings of a nice and intemperate appetite, which will have a thousand pretences to defend it self; but ruling our selves according to the wise *sentence* of him who said, τροφὰς ἄρα χρηςέον, ἵνα τὸ μὴ πεινῶν, *that we are to eat only to satisfie our hunger.* Thus that ancient Father. To this purpose

Part 2. alſo *Clemens Alexandrinus* diſcourſes at large, repreſenting the great evils and inconveniencies of gluttony and exceſs, that it waſts the *Eſtate*, ruines the *Body* by impairing its health, debauching the ſtomach, deflouring its taſt, begetting an ill habitude and temper, and ſowing it with the ſeeds of all diſeaſes; it dulls the *mind*, and renders it inept and ſluggiſh, and prepares it for the entertainment of any vice or wickedneſs; that although we are not abſolutely bound to abſtain from variety of meats, yet we are not to make them our deſire or ſtudy, eſpecially ſuch as ſavour of niceneſs and delicacy, and are apt to pamper and excite luſt and wantonneſs; for though 'tis true, all things were eſpecially made for mans ſake, yet is it not convenient to make uſe of all, and at ſome times leſs than at others; to the advantageous uſe of a thing, reſpect being to be had, not only to the *thing* it ſelf, but to the *time*, *occaſion*, and *manner* of it: that therefore our meals for the main ſhould be *light* and *eaſie*, not mixed with *variety* of dainties, but ſuch as may prepare for *faſting*, and the exerciſes of Religion. Upon this account *S. Cyprian* in an Epiſtle, wherein he gives

Vt ſupr. Capp. 1, 2. per tot.

Ad Presbyt. et Diac. Ep. 7. p. 18.

gives directions about Prayer, adviſes them (and to make the counſel more effectual, tells them, that he was *warn'd* of it by immediate *revelation* from God) to eat and drink ſoberly and ſparingly, that outward ſnares might not enfeeble that heavenly vigour and ſprightlineſs that was in their breaſts, leſt their minds being over-charged with too plentiful meals might be leſs *watchful unto prayer*: The ſame counſel *S. Hierom* gives to *Læta* about the Education of her Daughter, that her diet ſhould be thin and mean, and that ſhe ſhould never eat more, than ſhe might ariſe with ſome *appetite*, ſo as that after meals ſhe might be preſently fit either to *read* or ſing *Pſalms*. Part 2. *Ad Læt. tom. 1. p. 57.*

When at any time invited to publick ſolemnities, as *marriages*, and the like, the prudence of the Church thought fit to lay reſtraints upon them, and to forbid them light and *ludicrous* actions, as *leaping* or *dancing*, but that they ſhould dine and ſup *gravely* and *modeſtly* as becomes Chriſtians. *Conc. Laod. Can. 53.*

The chief care of Chriſtians then was to become partakers τῆς ἄνω τροφῆς τῆς θείας as *Clemens Alexandrinus* ſtyles it, of that *divine food that* *Ibid. p. 144.*

is

Part 2. *is from above*, and that only is capable to give real satisfaction, little regarding what provisions they had (so they had but any) for that part that dwelt here below. When *Julian* the Emperour to raise money for his Wars began to squeeze and oppress the Christians, he sent amongst others to S. *Basil* (who had formerly been his fellow-student at *Athens*) for one thousand pounds; the answer he sends him was, that it could not be expected there, where he had not so much provision beforehand as would serve for one day; that there were no arts of *cookery* at his house, nor knives *stain'd* with the blood of slaughtered provisions; that his greatest dainties were a few *pot-herbs*, a piece of bread, and a little soure *vapid* wine: no such exceedings as to stupifie his senses with fumes arising from a loaded stomach, and to render them incapable to discharge their functions through intemperance and excess. *Chrysostom* commends *Olympias* not more for the modesty of her Garb, than the meanness and sobriety of her diet, to which she had so us'd her self that she had got the perfect mastery over all undue appetites & inclinations, and

Basil. Epist. 208. *tom.* 3. *p.* 226. *confer Socrat. lib.* 3. *c.* 13. *p.* 185.

Ep. 2. *ad Olymp. tom.* 4. *p.* 616.

and had not only *bridled* the horſe, but *tamed* and reduced him into an intire ſubjection, and taught her ſtomach to receive only ſo much meat and drink as was enough to keep her alive and in health. This indeed was the great end of their ſignal abſtinence in thoſe days, that by ſubduing the *fleſh* they might keep the ſtricter hand over the inordinate motion of *corrupt nature*. When *Celſus* accuſed the *Jews*, and in them obliquely the Chriſtians for needleſsly abſtaining from *ſwines fleſh*, and ſome other ſorts of food, affirming this to be no ſuch great matter, when the *Pythagoreans* wholly abſtain'd from eating any *living creature*, who yet were never thought the better, or the more *dear* to God for it; *Origen* anſwers, that what-ever reaſon the *Jews* did it for (God having appointed the difference) this concern'd not *Chriſtians*, that 'tis not *what enters in at the mouth that defiles the man, nor does meat commend us to God*, nor do we think this abſtinence any ſuch great matter; nor yet do we ſo indulge the belly, as to affect or purſue ſuch delights; that there's a vaſt difference between *us* and the *Pythagoreans* in this affair: they indeed

Part 2.

Orig. cont. Celſ. lib. 5. p. 259, 264.

Part 2. indeed abſtain upon the account of their abſurd and fabulous doctrine of the ſouls *tranſmigration*, or paſſing out of one body into another, and ſo forbear to kill or eat any living creature, leſt haply they may deſtroy and devour their own *friends* or *children*: but we in all our abſtinence do it only *to keep under the body, and to bring it into ſubjection*, endeavouring *to mortifie the deeds of the body, to expel and extinguiſh our members that are upon the earth, fornication, uncleanneſs, inordinate affection, and every evil concupiſcence and deſire*: where he fully vindicates the Chriſtians in their abſtemiouſneſs and temperance from doing it out of any vain and fooliſh affectation, any nice and ſingular Opinion, any baſe and ſordid, moroſe or unſociable temper; they were careful to keep the *mean*, and to avoid *ſordidneſs* as well as *Luxury*; nor did they profeſs themſelves enemies to the proviſions of humane life any further, than as they were inconſiſtent with the ends of ſobriety and religion. As may appear from a *memorable* paſſage related by *Euſebius* out of the letter of the Churches of *Lyons and Vienna in France*

Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 3. p. 167.

to

to those in *Asia*. *Alcibiades* (one of those who shortly after suffer'd Martyrdom) had accustom'd himself to a very rigid and sordid kind of life, rejecting all other sorts of food, except only *bread* and *water*: and this he did both before and after he was in prison; which it seems had an ill influence upon others; whereupon *Attalus* one of the most eminent of those famous Martyrs, the day after his first being exposed in the *Amphitheatre* had it *reveal'd* to him (*for as yet*, sayes the Historian, *the Divine Grace had not withdrawn it self, but they had the Holy Spirit as their immediate Councellour to instruct them*; which by the way may give countenance to those frequent *visions* and *divine condescentions* which *Cyprian* speaks of in his Epistles: To this *Attalus* it was *reveal'd*) that *Alcibiades* did amiss in refusing to use the *Creatures* of God, and in thereby giving a scandal and an offence to others: upon which he laid aside his *singularity*, and with all thankfulness to God promiscuously ate any kind of food. Part 2.

From the whole of what has been said it's very evident, what little reason the Heathens had to accuse the Christians

Part 2. ſtians (in their *agapæ* or love-feaſts eſpecially) of *exceſs* and *prodigality*; for that they did *Tertullian* expreſly affirms; Our *little ſuppers (ſays he)* beſides as being guilty of other wickedneſs they traduce as *prodigal*, ſaying of us as *Diogenes* did of the people of *Megara*, that they *ſupp'd* as if they meant to *dye* to morrow: Nay, what were infinitely horrid and barbarous, they commonly charg'd them with *Thyeſtean* ſuppers, and eating mans fleſh: To the firſt part of the charge, concerning their prodigality, *Tertullian* anſwers, that they could eaſilier *ſee a mote in anothers eye, than a beam in their own*; if they look'd home they would find that 'twas their own *tribes* and *precincts*, wherein the very air was corrupted with the unſavoury *fumes* of their loaded tables, and over-charged ſtomachs; and yet all this was paſſed by, and only the poor Chriſtians *Triclinium* call'd in queſtion; that if they had any feaſt it was a *love-feaſt*, and what-ever coſt was laid out upon it, was expended not for *vain-glory*, but upon the accounts of *Piety* and Religion; not to nouriſh *Paraſites* and flatterers, but to refreſh the *Poor*: that the

Apol. c. 39. p. 32.

Athenag. legat. pro Chriſtian. p. 37.

Ibid.

order

order of the feast was as *sober* and regular as the *cause* was *honest*, going no further than modesty would admit; they *prayed* to God before they ventur'd upon his Creatures, ate but what suffic'd *hunger*, drank no more than consisted with sober and modest men; and fed so, as remembring they were to rise *at night* to worship God: when they had done, they sung *Psalms*, either of their own *composure*, or out of the *Holy Volumes*, and as they *begun*, so they *ended* the feast with Prayer, and then departed with the same care to preserve their modesty and chastity; so that they appear'd not so much to have *feasted* at supper, as to have *fed* upon discipline and order. So he. For the other part of the charge, their feeding upon *mans flesh* at this common supper, 'twas a suggestion so *savage* and *barbarous*, as could have found belief with nothing but the very *spirit* of malice; we shall again meet with this objection in another place, and shall therefore here only note out of their *Apologist*, that it was charge never offer'd to be made *good* against them, nor prov'd in any of those many thousand tryals which the Christians had had in all Part 2.

Athenag. Ibid. p. 38.

parts

Part 2. parts of the Empire; that it was very unlikely they ſhould be guilty of eating *humane* fleſh, who did not think it lawful to be preſent at the *gladiatory-ſports* where men were *ſlain*, or ſo much as to *taſt* any *blood* at all. So *Biblias* the Martyr told her enemies, when being reproached with this in the midſt of her torments, ſhe cryed out, how is it poſſible that we ſhould devour *Infants*, as you charge us, who think it not lawful ſo much as to taſt the blood of *any Creature*. For even till then, and a long time after they obſerv'd that *Canon* of the firſt *Apoſtolick* Councel, *to abſtain from things ſtrangled and from blood*. So far were they from being either *barbarous* or *luxurious*. No, our feaſts (as he ſays in *Minutius Fœlix*) are not only *chaſt*, but *ſober*, we indulge not our ſelves in banquets, nor make our feaſts with wine, but temper our chearfulneſs with gravity and ſeriouſneſs. And indeed their often watchings and faſtings, and their conſtant obſervance of the ſtricteſt parts of devotion ſufficiently ſhewed how little they pamper'd or indulg'd the fleſh, the *ſigns* whereof they every where carried in their very

Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. lib. 5. cap. 1. *supr. p. 158.*

Min. Fœl. p. 26.

faces;

faces; and this was ſo notorious, that their very enemies reproached them with their *trembling* joynts, and their *pale* ghaſtly looks: And *Lucian* giving an account of the *Chriſtian* Aſſembly into which he tells us *Critias* was brought to be made a *Proſelyte*, deſcribes them to be *a company of perſons with their heads hanging down, and pale faces*, which certainly did not ariſe from their *fear* of ſuffering (for no men in the world were ever ſo *willing*, nay ſo *deſirous* of laying down their lives as they) but from their frequent *abſtinence* and *faſting*. To which purpoſe *S. Baſils* Comment is moſt appoſite; where commending *temperance*, or as he calls it *Continence*, uſing the word in its largeſt ſence; other Vertues (*ſays he*) being mainly exerciſed in *ſecret*, are not altogether ſo *viſible* to the eyes of men; whereas continence where-ever it is, will at firſt ſight betray it ſelf: for as a good complexion, and an excellent conſtitution of body peculiarly deſign a man to be an *Athletes* or *Champion*; ſo leanneſs of body, and that *paleneſs* which is the fruit of continence, evidence a Chriſtian to be a real *Champion*

Part 2.

Pallidi, trepidi, apud eundem p. 10.

Philopatr. tom. 2. *p.* 1007.

Reg. fuſ. diſput. interrog. 17. *p.* 559.

Part 2. *pion* for the commands of *Christ*, vanquiſhing his enemy in the weakneſs of his body, and ſhews how able he is to *contend* in the cauſe of Piety and Vertue: The very ſight of ſuch a man muſt needs be of great advantage to affect us, to behold him ſparingly and moderately uſing even thoſe things that are neceſſary, not paying nature its *tribute* without ſome regret, begrutching the little time that he ſpends about it, and therefore making haſt to get from the table to return to his better exerciſes and imployments.

CHAP. V.

Of their ſingular Continence and Chaſtity.

Their admirable Continence diſcovered in ſeveral particulars. Their abſtinence from marriage. Their marrying only to comply with the end of the inſtitution. Seldom married more than once. Their continence admired by Heathens. The Fathers generally ſevere againſt ſecond marriages. The moderate

moderate judgement of Clemens Alexandrinus *in the case. The Canons of several Councels concerning it. Three sorts of digamy, or second marriages. Their shunning all occasions and appearances of lightness and immodesty: abstaining from publick meetings, feasts, plays, &c.* Constantine's *Law that no widow should be forced to appear at publick Tribunals. Another of* Theodosius, *that none should marry within twelve compleat months after her husbands decease. The promiscuous use of Baths, forbidden both by Canon and Civil Laws. Unmarried persons, especially of Ecclesiastick relation, not familiarly to converse together.* Mulieres Συνείσακτοι, *who. How brought in: condemned by the Councel of* Antioch, *and that of* Nice. *Clandestine marriages dis-allowed. Their abhorring all immodest pictures and discourses. The great modesty of* Gorgonia. *Their valuing chastity above life: submitting to any kind of death rather than violate it: Many chusing to kill themselves rather than be deflour'd. Several instances of it. Impurity in Christians bewail'd as a great scandal: punished by the Church with very se-* Part 2.

Part 2.

vere penalties. Several passages out of the Fathers and Councels noted to that purpose. Christians accused by the Heathens of incest and adultery. The summe of the charge. Their Answer. The Heathens very unfit to bring in this charge, being themselves so notoriously guilty: whole Nations, their wisest Philosophers, their very Gods themselves: this fully proved against them. The very Gentiles tacitly confessed the Christians innocent, by condemning them to be forcibly prostituted. A part of their religion not to give way to wanton looks or unchast desires. The eminent prevalency of Christianity in converting persons from uncleanness and debauchery, pleaded and asserted. The original of the accusation enquired into. Found to arise from the beastly practices of the Gnosticks, &c. who though guilty of the most notorious villanies, and of these in particular, yet shrowded themselves under the general name of Christians. Some forced through fear to confess the Christians guilty of these crimes.

Amongst

A Third considerable instance of that sobriety and moderation for which the Christians were so renowned of old, was their **Continence**, and abstaining from all manner of uncleanness, which is that Vertue that we properly call *Chastity*; a Vertue for which how eminent they were (notwithstanding what their enemies heavily charged upon them to the contrary, of which afterwards) we shall take notice of in some few particulars.

First, The Christians of those times were so far from breaking in upon any *Unchast* embraces, that they frequently abstained even from *lawful* pleasures, and kept themselves even from the *honourable* and *undefiled bed*, never marrying all their life. We are (says *Octavius*) *chast* in our *speech*, and *chaster* in our *bodies*, and very many of us, though we do not boast on't, do inviolably preserve a *perpetual* Virginity; and are so far from any extravagant desires after *Incestuous* mixtures, that many stand at a distance from the most *chast* and modest embraces: Thus *Justin Martyr* tells the Emperours, that amongst the *Christians* there were a great

Minut. Fœl. p. 26.

Apol. 2. p. 62.

Part 2. great many of either Sex, who had from their child-hood been educated in the Christian discipline, who for sixty or seventy years had kept themselves *single* and uncorrupt, and he wished the like could be shewn in all other sorts of men. To the same purpose another *Apologist*; 'tis very easie (*says he*) to find many amongst us, both men and women, who remain unmarried even in *old age*, conceiving that in this state they shall have fitter opportunities of drawing near to God. Not that they who persever'd in this course of *Celibate* did combine themselves into distinct Societies, and bind themselves under an *oath* of *perpetual* Virginity (as the humour was in after ages) for of this not the least shadow appears in any of the writings of those times, they lived promiscuously (till towards the end of the *third Century*) applyed themselves to the business of their place and station, and only lived single, that in those troublesome and hazardous times of persecution, they might be less ensnared with the entanglements of the world, and be more free for the exercises of Religion.

Athenag. leg. pro Christian. p. 37.

Secondly,

Secondly, When they did marry, they generally profeſs'd they did it only to comply with the great end of the *inſtitution*, *viz.* the propagation of mankind; not to gratifie wanton and brutiſh deſires, but to anſwer the great *end* of nature, that humane ſociety might not fail; either (*ſay they*) we marry not at all, but keep our ſelves *always* continent; or if we do marry, it is for no other end but the bringing *forth* and the bringing *up* of children; who ever amongſt us takes a Wife, according to the Laws preſcribed us he reckons he does it only for the begetting of children; within this his deſires are bounded and limited; as the Huſbandman concerns himſelf no further in tilling his ground and ſowing of his corn, than to bring forth the crop at Harveſt. Hence it was that they ſeldom married more than *once*: We willingly contain our ſelves (as he ſpeaks in *M. Fœlix*) within the bond of ſingle marriage, and either know but *one* woman (and that meerly out of a deſire of children) or *none*; the firſt knot being looſed by death, they very rarely tied a ſecond: which gained great honour and reputation Part 2. *Juſtin Martyr ibid. p. 71.* *Athenag. ibid.* *Vbi ſupr.*

Part 2. both to them and to their Religion with the *Gentiles* amongst whom they lived. *Chrysostom* tells us that a discourse hapning on a time between him and his *Master*, who was a *Gentile*, concerning his *Mother*, being told that she was a Widow, and after enquiry concerning her age, being answered that she was forty years old, and that she had liv'd twenty years of the time a Widow, the man was surpris'd with a strange admiration; and cried out before all the company, *behold* (saith he) *what brave women there are amongst the Christians.* The truth is, such was the heavenly zeal and temper of the first Ages of Christianity, that they would have no more to do with the World, than they needs must, but industriously shun'd all its burdens and encumbrances, amongst which they especially reckoned marriage, a state not rashly to be engag'd in; for once it was *allowable*, but for a second time *inexcusable.* And indeed it cannot be denied but that many of the Antient Fathers, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Hierom*, and others did inveigh against *second marriages* with too much bitterness and severity, violently pressing many passages in

Ad vid. junior. tom. 4 p. 458.

Scripture

Scripture to ſerve the cauſe, ſtraining the ſtring many times till it crack'd again; and not ſticking to cenſure and condemn ſecond marriages as little better than *adultery*. Hear what one of the *Apologiſts* ſays to it: Amongſt us every man either remains as he was born, or engages himſelf in one only marriage; for as for ſecond marriages, they are but a more plauſible and *decorous* kind of adultery; our Lord aſſuring us, that *who-ever puts away his wife, and takes another, commits adultery*; which place, as alſo another of like importance, how perverſly he interprets, and impertinently applies to his purpoſe, I am not willing to remember. *Clemens Alexandrinus* ſpeaks in the caſe with much more *modeſty* and moderation; As for thoſe to whom God has given the gift of *abſolute* continence, we think them happy: we admire the *gravity* and ſtayedneſs of thoſe that content themſelves with a ſingle marriage: but yet ſay withall that compaſſion ought to be had of others, and that *we ſhould bear one anothers burdens*, leſt he who *ſeems to ſtand fair, do fall himſelf:* and as for ſecond marriages that of the Apoſtle is to take

Part 2.

Athenag. ut ſupr.

Stromat. lib. 3. p. 428. vid. Epiphan. Hareſ. 48. p. 178. Cyrill. ad Ilum. Catech. 4. p. 50.

Part 2. take place, *if they cannot contain, they should marry, for it is better to marry than to burn.* However 'tis certain the Fathers of old generally did what they could to discourage second marriages; the Antient *Canons* (as *Zonaras* tell us) suspended such persons from the Communion for a whole year; and the Council of *Laodicea* though it determine not the time, yet it requires that they should spend some small time at least in *penance*, in fasting and prayer, before they be received to the Communion. By the *Canons* that are call'd *Apostolical*, who ever after Baptism has engag'd in a second marriage is rendred incapable of any degree in the Ministry: accordingly *Epiphanius* reports of one *Joseph*, whom he knew, a converted *Jew*, and advaneed to the dignity of a *Count* by *Constantine* the Great, that when the *Arrians* would have laid hands upon him to have made him Bishop, he got off by this wile, by pretending himself to have been twice married. But though the Fathers and Antient Councels were thus severe in this case, yet the rigour of their censure will be much abated, if what some tell us be true, that many of their passages

In Can. 7. Concil. Neocæsar.

Can. 1.

Can. 17.

Hæres. 30. p. 61.

ſages are not levell'd againſt ſucceſſive marriages, but againſt having two wives at the ſame time: for as a learned man has obſerved, there were three ſorts of *digamy*; the firſt, a mans having two wives *at once*, this was condemn'd by the *Roman* Laws: the ſecond, when the former wife being dead the man married a *ſecond time*: a third, when for any ſlight cauſe a man *put away* his wife by a bill of *divorce*, and married another, which though then frequently practis'd, and conniv'd at (if not allow'd) by the Laws of thoſe Times, was yet prohibited by the *decrees* of the Church, and of this laſt ſort (*ſays he*) many of the Antient Canons are to be underſtood. Part 2. *Fuſtell. not. in can. 1. Conc. Lat.*

Thirdly, They were infinitely careful to ſhun all *occaſions* and appearances of lightneſs and immodeſty, whatever might tend to inveagle their ſenſes, and to debauch their mind and manners, nay what-ever might but give a ſuſpicion of wantonneſs and incontinence: They declin'd as much as might be going to all Publique Meetings, ſuch as Feaſts, Plays, Shews, *&c.* Therefore *Cyprian* ſeverely chides with ſome *Virgins* for being preſent at *Weddings*, where *De diſcipl. & hab. Virgin. p.* 167.

Part 2. where they laughed freely, could not but hear looſe diſcourſes, ſee uncomely carriages, feed upon luxurious diſhes, all which muſt needs not only *kindle*, but add *fuel* to the *fire*, and fill their minds with indecent thoughts and deſires. S. *Hierom* on the other hand does as much commend ſome whom he knew, who always kept at home on *feſtival* days to avoid the crowd and gazes of the people, and would never go abroad at thoſe times, when they could not venture into the publick without the greateſt care and cuſtody over themſelves. For this reaſon *Conſtantine* made a Law that *Matrons* ſhould not be forc'd upon the account of debt to come out of their own houſes to appear before the publick *tribunals*, but that the buſineſs ſhould be decided in ſuch way, as might not betray the modeſty of that Sex; and when afterwards the fervour of Chriſtianity began to abate apace, and perſons had in a great meaſure loſt that huge reverence which former times had for continence and chaſtity; *Theodoſius* to reſtrain them a little within the bounds of decency, provided by a Law that *no woman* of what quality or rank ſoever

De Virg. ſervand. —

Cod. Theod. lib. 1. Tit. 10. l. 1.

Ibid. lib. 3. Tit. 8. l. 1. vid. Gothofred. in loc.

ſoever ſhould *marry* again within a year at leaſt (*i.e.* within twelve *full* months, whereas under the old *Roman* Laws, the time of mourning was but ten, as a Learned *Interpreter* of that Law obſerves) after her huſbands death, and this he ratified by a double penalty, a note of perpetual *infamy* to be ſet upon the offending perſon, and the loſs of her whole *dower* and what-ever eſtate her huſband had bequeathed her, which was to go to the children ſhe had by him, or if none, to his next of kin. By the *Laodicean* Councel not only Clergy-men, and ſuch as have entred upon a ſtate of continency, but all Chriſtian men whatſoever are forbidden to uſe the ſame *common baths* with women. And for very good reaſon; it being a thing (as *Zonaras* obſerves) both *ſhameful* and uncomely in it ſelf, and *pernicious* in its conſequence: for how eaſily does an unlawful *flame* kindle from ſuch a *ſpark?* and when humane nature is of it ſelf ſo ready to *boyl* over, who would pour *oyl* upon the *fire?* a thing ever look'd upon as repugnant to all the Laws of modeſty, yea even by *them that are without*; this being (ſays the *Councel*) one of the chiefeſt

Part 2.

Can. 30. *vid. Conſ. in Trull. Can.* 77.

Part 2. chiefeſt things which the very Heathens *condemn*, and for which they cenſure and reproach us. Parallel to this, *Photius* and his Commentator *Balſamon* tell us of a Law of the Emperour *Juſtinian*, making it a ſufficient cauſe of *divorce*, and loſing her *dowry*, for a woman either to *feaſt* or *bath* in the company of other men without the leave and conſent of her huſband. Indeed in the firſt and purer times they took all imaginable care, that unmarried perſons, eſpecially ſuch as were of *Eccleſiaſtical* cognizance, or had devoted themſelves to a ſeverer courſe of piety, ſhould not commonly converſe together. *Cyprian* writing to *Pomponius* about the Virgins that had taken profeſſion of continence upon them, but lived too familiarly with ſome perſons that belonged to the Church, charges him that Men and Virgins ſhould not only not *ſleep* near one another, but not *dwell* together in the ſame houſe, leſt the infirmity of their Sex, and the ſlipperineſs of their youth ſhould betray them into the *ſnare of the devil*. Wherefore he commends *Pomponius* for having ſuſpended the *Deacon* and the reſt that had kept ſuch familiar

Nomocan. τιτλ. θ. κεφ. κά. p 104.

Epiſt. 62. p. 98. vid. ſis Conc. 1. Carthag. Can. 3, 4.

ar correſpondence with thoſe Virgins; Part 2.
and ordered that they ſhould not be abſolved, till they had ſufficiently teſtified their repentance, and made it appear by ſatisfactory evidence that no unlawful familiarity had paſſed between them, and that if ever they returned to the like co-habitation, greater penalties ſhould be inflicted upon them. The foundation of which ill cuſtom doubtleſs ſprung or at leaſt took encouragement from hence; in thoſe firſt times of Chriſtianity it was uſual for *Clergy-men*, ſuch eſpecially as were ſent up and down to preach the Goſpel, to have ſome grave and ſober *woman* along with them, who might be helpful and aſſiſting to them, and who was neither *Wife* nor *Concubine*, but taken in either upon the account of neceſſary *attendance*, or the pretence of *piety*. Theſe women in the writings of the Church (wherein there is frequent mention of them) are called Συνείσακτοι, ſuch as were *brought in*, taken into the houſe as *Domeſtick* aſſiſtants to *Eccleſiaſtick* perſons. But this proving matter of ſcandal and inconvenience, was not only cried out againſt by *private* Fathers, but by *publick* Synods; the

Part 2. the Councel of *Antioch* held in the Reign of *Aurelian* the Emperour, *Anno* two hundred seventy and two, in a *Synodical* Epistle wherein they censure the doctrines and practices of *Paulus Samosatenus*, condemn this among the rest, that he and his *Presbyters* and *Deacons* kept these *introduced women*, whereby horrible inconveniencies did arise, for besides the snare and temptation of it, although they should keep themselves innocent, yet they could not avoid the suspicion and scandal that would arise, and the danger of drawing in others by their bad example. For which reason S. *Basil* writes to an old *Presbyter* in his Dioceſs, to abstain from the company of a woman with whom he was wont to *cohabit*; not so much to avoid temptation to incontinence (the man being then seventy years of age) as that he might not lay a stumbling stone, and occasion of *offence* in his brothers way. The same was universally forbidden by the great Councel of *Nice*, and no man within the Clergy allowed to have any woman near him, unless his *Mother*, his *Sister*, or his *Aunt*, or such only of whom there could be no *suspicion*, as

Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 7. c. 30. p. 281.

Epist. ad Paregor. Presbyt. Epist. 198. p. 216.

Can. 3 ubi vid. Zonar.

as we find it in the third *Canon* of that Council: in the antient version whereof these *mulieres συνείσακτοι* are styl'd *extraneæ*, *strangers*; by which name they are also call'd in a Law of the Emperour *Honorius*, prohibiting any Clergy-man whatsoever to keep company with these *strange women*, limiting their converse and cohabitation within the very same relations, to which they are restrain'd by the *Nicene Canon*, which 'tis not to be doubted that Emperour had in his eye when he made that *Constitution*. And because *Bishops* were the highest order in the Church, therefore that their honour might be especially secured, care was taken that no Bishop under penalty of being *deposed* should entertain or cohabit with *any* woman whatsoever, either relation or stranger, that so all pretence either of temptation or scandal might be cut off. For the same reason it was that they disallowed all *Clandestine* marriages, which were not openly made in the face of the Church, accounting them no better than a state of *Adultery* or *Fornication*. And as they were careful not to give offence to others, so they were not

Part 2.

C. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episc. l. 44.

Synops. Basil. lib. 3. Tit. 1. c. 41. p. 29.

Tertull. de pudicit. c. 4. p. 557.

Part 2. willing themſelves to come within the ſhadow of a temptation, they ſtood at a diſtance from whatever was offenſive either to their *eys* or *ears*; their *ears* they ſtopt againſt all looſe idle ſongs, all filthy and obſcene diſcourſes, their *eys* they ſhut againſt all uncomely objects, all wanton and laſcivious pictures, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* expreſly tells us; not doing any thing that ſeemed but to carry an ill colour with it. *Nazianzen* tells us of his Siſter *Gorgonia*, a vertuous woman whoſe example we have often quoted, that for modeſty and ſobriety ſhe went beyond all other women; that ſhe reconcil'd the two oppoſite ſtates of humane life, *celibate* and *marriage*; the one more *ſublime* and *divine*, but more *dangerous* and *troubleſome*, the other more *humble*, but withall more *ſafe*; that ſhe avoided the inconveniencies of each, and choſe what was moſt excellent out of both, the *ſublimity* of the one, and the *ſecurity* of the other; ſhewing that neither of theſe ſtates in it ſelf did wholly tie us up either to God or the World, nor yet wholly ſeparate us from them, ſo that the one ſhould be abſolutely rejected, or the other obſolutely

Admonit. ad Græc. p. 40. vid. Conc. 6. in Trull. Can. 100. Orat. 11. p. 180.

ly

ly commended and embrac'd; but that it is the *mind* that admirably preſides both over Marriage and Virginity: And withal further adds concerning her, that ſo great was her *baſhfulneſs* and modeſty, that when ſhe lay under a moſt acute and dangerous diſtemper, yet ſhe refuſed to have any *Phyſician* come near her, as bluſhing that any man ſhould either *ſee* or *touch* her. Part 2, *Ibid p.* 185.

Fourthly, They valued their innocency and their honour above their *lives*, and therefore choſe to undergo the greateſt dangers, to *dye*, yea, to *kill* themſelves rather than any violence ſhould be offered to their chaſtity. As the faireſt promiſes could not *tempt* them, ſo neither could the fierceſt torments *affright* them into any unchaſt compliance. When *Maximinus* the *Emperour* governed in the *Eaſtern* parts, amongſt other effects of his wild and brutiſh fury and extravagance, he fill'd all places where he came with Adulteries and raviſhments, abuſing women, and deflouring Virgins; which ſucceeded well enough (ſays the *Hiſtorian*) with all others, except only *Chriſtians*, who generouſly deſpiſing death, made light of the rage and fury *Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 8. c. 14. p. 312*

Part 2. of the Tyrant: the men underwent all sorts of punishments which cruelty could invent; the women bore up with a courage no less *manly* and unconquerable, and when any were drawn out to be abused, they rather submitted their lives to *death*, than their bodies to *dishonour*. Of these he tells us of one especially at *Alexandria*, a woman of great birth and fortunes, but much more famous for her Vertues, especially her modesty and chastity, which she stoutly defended, and preferred before her nobility or her riches, her excellent parts, or any accomplishments whatsoever. The Emperour had oft attempted her by all Arts of sollicitation, but all in vain; till at last, not being able to prevail, his affection somewhat attempering his fierceness and cruelty, he would not put her to death, which she was most ready to have undergone, but spoyl'd her of her estate, and then sent her into banishment; there being many hundreds of others at the same time, who not able to bear the violation of their chastity wherewith the Governours and Commanders threatned them, willingly subjected themselves to all kinds

of

of racks and tortures, and the worſt *capital* puniſhments which their enemies could inflict upon them. Nay, when the caſe ſo happen'd, that they were ſet upon, and all their reſoluteneſs could not provoke the cruel kindneſs of their enemies to diſpatch them, they would rather diſpatch *themſelves*, than fall into the rude hands of luſt and wantonneſs. Thus did that famous *Woman* and her two Daughters, (mention'd by the ſame Author, whoſe names as *Chryſoſtome* in an *Oration* on purpoſe in their commendation tells us, were *Domnina* the mother, *Bernice* and *Proſdoce* the daughters) eminent as well for the outward beauty and *features* of their bodies, as for the inward *Vertues* of their minds, being ſought for as a prey to luſt under the *Dioclesian* perſecution, they fled for it; but being found out by the ſouldiers that were ſent to ſearch for them, and knowing there was no other way to eſcape, in their return they beg'd leave of the ſouldiers, that for ſome private occaſions they might ſtep a little out of the rode; which being granted, fitting themſelves for what they had beforehand agreed on, as well as the time

Part 2.

Ib. c. 12. p. 305. Hom. 51. de S. S. Domn. Ber. Proſd. tom. 1. p. 557.

Part 2. would give them leave, they unanimously *threw* themselves into the river, and there perished in the *waters*. The like he relates of a *Noble Woman* at *Rome*, wife to the *Prefect* or Chief Governour of the City, (but a Christian) that *Maxentius* the Emperour being passionately inflamed with the love of her, sent Officers to fetch her, who breaking into the house, to the great terrour of her Husband, would violently have seiz'd on her; of whom she beg'd only so much time, as that she might a little dress and adorn her self; under which pretence, retiring into her chamber, she caught up a sword, and by a fatal stroke left the Messengers nothing but a dismal spectacle of amazement and horrour. These instances (both of them highly applauded by *Chrysostome* and *Eusebius*) I quote not to justifie a mans violent laying hands upon himself, as either lawful or laudable; whether in some such cases persons might not be acted by more *divine* motions, extraordinary and *heroick* impulses (the case of *Sampson*, *&c.*) as *S. Augustine* inclines to believe, it is not very pertinent for me to enquire; it being enough to my purpose to observe, that

Ibid. c. 14. p. 313.

De Civ. D. lib. 1. c. 26. Col. 75. ubi de hac ipsa re agit.

that they were great evidences how highly they priz'd *Chaſtity* and *Integrity*, which they were willing to ſecure at ſo dear a rate. Part 2.

And in thoſe caſes wherein life was not concern'd, they gave the greateſt teſtimony how much they abhorred all uncleanneſs. None were ever more hearty enemies to *Idolatry*, and yet *Origen* at *Athens*, when put to this unhappy choice, either to *Sacrifice* or *defile* himſelf, choſe rather to commit idolatry than fornication. Though even that too was rather his *Enemies* act than his *own*, they thruſting the frankincenſe into his hand, and haling him up to the *Altar*. *Epiphan. Hæreſ. 64. p. 228.*

Fifthly, When ever any was found guilty of the leaſt uncleanneſs, it was look'd upon and *bewail'd* as a very *heinous* ſin, and a great *diſhonour* to the Chriſtian name: What is it that I hear (ſays *Cyprian*) how deteſtable ſhould it be to you, what with the greateſt grief and affliction of my mind I have underſtood, that there are ſome amongſt you, who have defil'd their *bodies*, *the temples of God*, even after they were *ſanctified* by confeſſion, and *cleans'd* by baptiſm, with filthy and infamous em- *Ad Regat. & Confeſſ. Ep. 6. p. 15.*

Part 2. braces, promiſcuouſly uſing the beds and lodgings of the women: When although they ſhould be free from *actual* adultery, yet even in this 'twould be a *fault* of a mighty aggravation, that by their *ſcandalous* example others might be *ſeduced* into ruine. *S. Baſil* writing to a *Monk*, who had been *overtaken* with this *fault*, elegantly bewailes the greatneſs of his ſin, as a diſhonour to the ſtrictneſs of his former profeſſion; a reproach to thoſe lips which had *kiſs'd* the mouths of ſo many *Saints*; to thoſe hands which ſo many devout perſons had *embrac'd* as pure and undefiled; to thoſe knees before which ſo many ſervants of God had *fallen* down; as a being caught in the ſnare of a crafty *Devil*, a perfidious violation of his *promiſes*, a being become a *ſport* and ſcorn to *Jews* and *Gentiles*, a confuting (what in him lay) that triumphant ſpeech of *Chriſt*, that he had *overcome the world*, filling even to the place where he liv'd a cup of *infamy* and *reproach*. In the next *Epiſtle* he deals with the *Woman*, and treats her with the ſame elegant ſeverity, though in both he ſo aggravates the caſe, as to excite them to repentance, and to a ſpeedy

Ad Monac. lapſ. tom. 3. p. 11.

ſpeedy *recovery of themſelves out of the ſnare of the Devil.* But becauſe good words and perſwaſions were not *cords* ſtrong enough to reſtrain ſome mens irregular luſts and paſſions, they twiſted with them the *Diſcipline* of the Church: And therefore Part 2.

Sixthly, They were wont to *puniſh* the breach of Chaſtity by inflicting ſevere *penalties* upon incontinent perſons: Amongſt all the ſins that were moſt ſharply puniſhed in the ancient Church, *Adultery* was one of the chief; who-ever was convicted of it was immediately caſt out of the Church, and diſ-owned as a rotten member; This *Tertullian* tells us, firſt made *Marcion* turn *Heretick*, for being found guilty of lying with a Virgin, and for that thrown out of the Communion of the Church, he betook himſelf to one *Cerdon* a *Maſter Heretick*, and eſpouſed his Doctrines and Opinions. The truth is, in thoſe firſt times the puniſhment of Adultery was very great, *perpetual* penance all a mans life, and ſcarce being admitted into Communion at the very *hour* of *death*; till *Pope Zephyrinus* about the year *two hundred and ſixteen*, conſidering the great inconveniencies

Vid. Tert. de Pudicit. c. 7. p. 560. de Hæreſ. p. 120.

of

Part 2. of ſo much ſeverity, perſons hereby being oft driven into *deſpair*, and others diſcouraged from coming over to the Chriſtian Faith, ordered that Penance in this caſe ſhould be limited to a ſhorter time, which being ended, ſuch perſons might be received again into the boſom of the Church. This *Decree* gave great offence to the *African* Churches, moſt whereof ſtood up for the ſtrictneſs of the *ancient* Diſcipline; *Tertullian* more eſpecially inveighs againſt it with much bitterneſs and animoſity, as a thing *unfit* in it ſelf, and an *innovation* in the Church. The ſame, *Cyprian* alſo plainly intimates, though he himſelf was for the more *mild* Opinion. By the *Ancyran* Councel, held *Anno three hundred and fifteen*, it was Decreed, That whoever was guilty of Adultery, ſhould be puniſh'd with a *ſeven years* Penance before they were admitted to the Communion: by the Synod of *Illiberis*, if a man after having done his Penance for the firſt fault, fell afterwards into the ſame ſin again, he was not to be taken into Communion, no *not* at the hour of death: the ſame puniſhment they inflicted upon *Bawds* and ſuch perſons as for gain pro-

Lib. de Pudicit. c. 1. p. 555.

Ad Antonian. Ep. 52. p. 71, 72.

Can. 20.

Can. 7. p. 13

Can. 12. p. 22.

proſtituted the bodies of their *children*, by ſelling them (or *themſelves* rather, of whom their children were a *part*) to luſt and ruine. *S. Baſil* writing to *Amphitratius* rules for the conduct of Diſcipline, and the meaſures of repentance, ſets Adultery at *fifteen years* Penance, Fornication at *ſeven*, and then to be admitted to the Holy Sacrament. His Brother *Gregory* Biſhop of *Nyſſa* treating about the ſame affairs, appoints Fornication to be puniſhed with no leſs than *nine years* Penance and ſuſpenſion from the Sacrament, and Adultery, and all other ſpecies of uncleanneſs with *double* that time; though allowing a liberty to the *Spiritual Guide* to contract this time, as the circumſtances of the *Caſe* or *Perſon* might require: But both theſe laſt mention'd being but private Biſhops, their *Canons* could be no further obligatory than to thoſe particular *Dioceſes*, that were under their charge: And indeed the cenſures of the Church in this caſe did much vary according to time and place, in ſome more *rigid* and ſevere, in others more *laxe* and favourable, though in all, ſuch as did abundantly ſhew what hearty enemies they were to all filthi-

Part 2.

Epiſt. Can. Can. 58, 59. *tom* 3. *pag.* 36.

Ep. Canon. ad Letoi. Can. 4. *tom.* 1. *p.* 951.

neſs

Part 2. ness and impurity whatsoever.

What has been hitherto said of the Modesty, the chast and sober carriage of the Primitive Christians, will receive further light, if we consider how clearly they vindicated themselves from that *malicious* charge of *Incest* and *Adultery*, which the Heathens commonly charg'd upon them; so commonly, that we scarce find any of the ancient *Apologists* but takes notice of it and confutes it: The sum of the charge, as 'tis more formally drawn up by the

Pag. 7, 8. Heathen in *M. Fœlix*, take thus: That the Christians knew one another by certain *privy* marks and signs, and were wont to be in *love* with, almost before they *knew* one another; that they exercised lust and filthiness under a pretence of *Religion*, promiscuously calling themselves *Brothers* and *Sisters*, that by the help of so *sacred* a name their common Adulteries might become *incestuous*; that upon a solemn day they meet together at a feast [*he means their love-feasts*] with their *Wives*, *Children*, *Sisters*, *Mothers*, persons of every *Age* and *Sex*, where after they have well eaten and drunk, and begin to be *warm* and merry, heated with

with the exceſs of wine, a piece of *meat* is thrown for the *dogs*, who being tied to the *Candleſticks*, begin to *leap* and *friſk* about till they have run away with, and put out the *lights*, and then nothing being left but darkneſs, the fit *cover* and ſhadow for impudence and villany, they *promiſcuouſly* run amongſt one another into filthy and inceſtuous embraces; and if they be not *all alike* guilty of inceſt, 'tis not the fault of their *will*, but the good fortune of their *chance*, ſeeing what *actually* happens to one, is *intentionally* the lot of all. This is the tale; which however abſurd and incredible, yet ſtrangely found *belief*, or at leaſt was *pretended* to be believ'd amongſt the enemies of *Chriſtianity*. Now, though it be ſufficiently refuted by what has been already ſaid, yet we may obſerve the Chriſtians of thoſe times further pleading theſe *Four* things in their own vindication. Part 2.

Firſt, That if this *Charge* had been true, yet the *Heathens* had little reaſon to object it to the *Chriſtians*, being *themſelves* ſo notoriouſly guilty in this kind. For Adultery nothing more common amongſt them, and for Inceſt 'twas *Tert. Apol. c. 9. p. 10. c. 39. p. 31. Min. Fel. p. 26.*

Part 2. 'twas a general indictment of *whole* Nations, the *Persians* usually lying with their own *Mothers*; the *Macedonians* and *Egyptians* marrying with their own *Sisters*, and this done even at *Athens* it self; their Histories full of them, their Plays and Tragedies which they frequented every day with great applause, represented them as *lawful* and *commendable*. *Socrates* himself, the great glory of the Heathen world, was condemned at *Athens* amongst other things for *Sodomy*, and the corrupting of Youth; and some of *Plato's* School have perished in the very *act* of Adultery: Nay their very *gods* themselves whom they worshipp'd and ador'd were highly guilty in this kind; they feign those things of *us* (says *Athenagoras*) which they themselves report of their own *gods*; whose lusts and wantonnesses 'tis no wonder if they style *Mysteries*; were they such hearty enemies to shameful and promiscuous mixtures, they must abhor their great god *Jupiter*, who begot children both of *Rhea* the *Mother*, and *Proserpina* the *Daughter*, and married with his own *Sister*. And who was (unless *Orpheus* their great *Poet* lies) more

Tert. ib. c. 46. p. 36.

Legat. pro Christian. p. 35.

more wicked and vile in this kind than *Thyeſtes* himſelf? *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells them, that as they had ordered the matter, by the *Marriages*, begetting *Children*, *Adulteries*, and *Banquets* of their *gods*, (which they ſet out in their *Plays* and *Poems*) they had turn'd Heaven into a *Comick Scene*, and made the *Deity* a piece of *dramatick* ſport, and by a ſatyrick wit had jeſted *Religion*, and whatever was moſt *Sacred* into *ſcorn* and *laughter*. Nothing more uſual amongſt them (as he there *obſerves*) than to hang their rooms with the *pictures* of their gods drawn in the moſt laſcivious and *propudious* poſtures, engaged in the moſt filthy and diſhoneſt actions, enough to ſhame intemperanee it ſelf. *Theſe* (ſays he) *are the original patterns of your ſoft effeminacy; this your beaſtly and ſhameful divinity; theſe the doctrines of your gods, co-partners with you in your uncleanneſs and adultery.* And whereas they might pretend, that theſe ſtories of their gods were only the extravagant *inventions* of their *Poets*, who took a liberty to ſay any thing to gratifie the people; *Athanaſius* anſwers, that hereby they ſhook the very *foundation* of their gods, having

Part 2.

Admonit. ad Grac. p. 39, 40. *Videſis Jul. Firm. de Err. Proſ. Relig. p.* 8.

Orat. contr. Gent. p. 14. *tom.* 1.

Part 2. having no other authority for their *exiſtence*, than what account their *Poets* gave them; ſo that if they feign'd their *actions*, they might with equal reaſon be ſuppoſed to feign their very *names* and *perſons*, there being the ſame ground of belief for the one as for the other; and that there was as much reaſon to believe they ſpake truth in this, as in the relation of any other matters of fact, concerning *Achilles*, *Ulyſſes*, *Neſtor*, *Hector*, or any of the reſt; all depending upon the ſame warrant and authority. This propagated looſneſs and uncleanneſs to them under a kind of notion and ſhadow of Religion; ſuch as the *gods* are, ſuch warrantably may be their *Worſhippers*. Where-ever you are (ſays *Tertullian*) at home or abroad, or beyond the ſeas, *Luſt* is your companion, which often ſtumbles upon *Inceſt*; whereas Chaſtity diligently and faithfully preſerv'd keeps us from any ſuch event, and we are as far from *Inceſt*, as we are from *Whoredom*, or any exceſs in a married ſtate; yea, many prevent all poſſibility of this charge by containing themſelves within perpetual Virginity: And yet though we are thus (ſays another *Apologiſt*) yet there

Ibid. c. 9. p. 10.

Athenag. ait ſupr. p. 37.

there want not those who object these Part 2.
things to us, and as 'tis in the Proverb, ἡ πόρνη τὴν σώφρονα, *the ſtrumpet reproaches the honeſt woman*; for though they *merchandize* for luſt, and keep open ſhop for all manner of uncleanneſs, not abſtaining from the violation and abuſe of *Youth*, males with males *committing that which is unſeemly*; though themſelves are guilty of theſe villanies, which they report alſo of their *gods*, and do themſelves boaſt of them as brave *atchievements*, yet have they the face to accuſe us of them: Adulterers and *Sodomites* as they are, they charge us who are either always continent, or never marry more than once; themſelves in the mean while living like *fiſhes*, *where the great ones ſubdue and ſwallow up the leſs*: Such infamous filthineſſes are done amongſt you, which we do not care to *hear*, and may much leſs *defend*; you laying things to the charge of chaſt and modeſt men, which we could not *believe* that there ſhould be ſuch things *done* in the world, were not you your ſelves *inſtances* of them. This conſideration made *Juſtin Martyr* thus freely and paſſionately beſpeak the *Senate*; It were to be wiſhed

M. Fœl. p. 24. B.

Apol. 1. p. 51.

Part 2. that ſome body getting up into a *high* place, ſhould with a *loud* voice cry out, *Be afraid, be afraid to charge thoſe things, of which you your ſelves are openly guilty, upon the innocent and undeſerving; to attribute what belongs only to your ſelves and to your gods, to thoſe, with whom there is not ſo much as the ſhadow of any ſuch thing to be found: Learn to be more wiſe and ſober, and repent of ſuch injuſtice.*

Secondly, That the Heathens themſelves did tacitly *confeſs* Chriſtians to be *Innocent* in this caſe, when their great care was how they might *debauch* them; 'twas a part of their ſevereſt puniſhment to be *proſtituted*, and expoſed to rudeneſs and violence; a penalty which they would never have inflicted upon them, had they really been ſuch *lewd* profligate perſons as their enemies endeavoured to repreſent them. This Plea *Tertullian* urges in the cloſe of his *Apology*; Condemn, (*ſays he*) crucifie, and torment us; your *cruelty* & injuſtice is the evidence of our *Innocency*, and therefore God ſuffers it to come upon us: for while you chuſe rather to condemn a *woman* that is a *Chriſtian* to the *Stews* than to the

the *Lions*, you plainly confeſs that the violation of chaſtity is accounted by us a *heavier* penalty than any puniſhment or kind of death which you can inflict upon us. Part 2. *Ad Leuonem quàm ad Leonem.*

An eminent inſtance hereof (though of the other ſex) *S. Hierom* relates to this purpoſe: In the time of the *Decian* Perſecution a young man a *Chriſtian*, then in the flower and beauty of his age, whoſe conſtancy had been oft attempted by other means to no purpoſe, was at laſt ſet upon in this manner: He was carried into a pleaſant *Garden*, and into a part of it beſet with *Lillies* and *Roſes*, hard by the banks of a *Cryſtal* river, whoſe ſoft *murmurs*, together with the *muſick* made by the leaves of the trees wav'd by the gentle motions of the wind, conſpir'd to render it a place for *pleaſure* and *delight*: Here upon a *bed* of *down* the young man was laid, and that he might not be able to help himſelf or ſhift his poſture, was tied down with *ſilken* cords: the company withdrawing, a beautiful *Strumpet* was ſent in to him, who began to careſſe him with kiſſes and embraces, treating him with all the arts of wantonneſs, not conſiſtent with *mode-* *Vit. Paul. Eremit. tom. 1. p. 237.*

Part 2. *ſly* to name. How to relieve himſelf in this caſe the poor man knew not; but finding the temptation beginning to prevail, he preſently bit off his *tongue* and *ſpit* it in her face as ſhe attempted to kiſs him, by the greatneſs of his pain extinguiſhing thoſe *ſenſual* titillations which her wicked artifices began to kindle in him.

Thirdly, they confidently aſſured them that amongſt Chriſtians it was not only unlawful to be *actually* unclean, but *to look after a woman with wanton and unchaſte deſires*; our Lord (ſays *Juſtin Martyr*) has told us that whoſoever *looks* after a woman *to luſt* after her, has *already* committed *adultery* with her in his *heart*; and that *if our right eye offend us we muſt pluck it out*; as therefore humane Laws condemn two Wives: ſo by the Laws of our *Maſter* they are ſinners, who look upon a woman with *unfit* deſires after her; for not only he that really commits adultery is rejected by him, but even he that has a *mind* to it; not only our *actions*, but our very *thoughts* being open unto God. So *Athenagoras*; So far are we from any promiſcuous embraces, that we are not permitted

Apol. 2. p. 61, 62.

ut ſupr. p. 36.

ted the freedom of an unchaſte look; Part 2.
for *whoever* (ſays *our Lord*) *looks after a woman to deſire her, has play'd the adulterer with her in his heart:* we are not therefore allowed to uſe our eys to any other purpoſes, than thoſe for which God created them, *viz.* to be *lights* to the body: to abuſe them to wantonneſs, is to be guilty of adultery, for as much as they know they were made for other ends, and cannot but be conſcious to themſelves of their own thoughts; and how is it poſſible for men under ſuch *limitations* to be otherwiſe than chaſte and ſober? for we have not to deal with *humane* Laws, under which a man may be wicked, and yet eſcape; but our diſcipline was delivered by God himſelf; we have a Law which makes our *ſelves* the *rule* and meaſure of *righteouſneſs* towards *others*; according therefore to the difference of age we account ſome as *Sons* and *Daughters*, others as *Brethren* and *Siſters*; the more aged we honour in the place of *Parents*; thoſe therefore whom we account as *Siſters*, or as allied to us in any other relation, we reckon it a matter of great concernment that

Part 2. they ſhould be chaſte and incorrupt.

Fourthly, They pleaded, that this objection would eaſily vaniſh, if they would but conſider what a ſtrange *change* and alteration was in this very caſe wrought upon perſons at their firſt *converſion* to Chriſtianity; immediately becoming quite of another ſpirit and temper from what they were before. We who before time (ſays *Juſtin Martyr*, ſpeaking of the converting power of the *Chriſtian* doctrine) did pleaſe our ſelves in *fornications* and uncleanneſs, do now ſolely embrace temperance and chaſtity; what an innumerable company could I name of thoſe who have left their luxury and intemperance, and come over to this kind of life; for *Chriſt came not to call the chaſte and righteous* [they needed it not] *but the wicked, the incontinent, and the unrighteous to repentance.* And in his other *Apology* he gives an inſtance of a woman, who having together with her husband lived a very *vicious* and debauched courſe of life, after her converſion to Chriſtianity became ſtrictly chaſte and ſober; and not content with this, ſhe urged her huſband alſo to do the like,

Apol. 2. *p.* 61, 62.

Apol. 1. *p.* 41.

laying

laying before him the doctrines of Christianity, and perſwading him both by the rewards and puniſhments of another World: but he obſtinately refuſing, it begot a quarrel between them, which ſtill ripen'd into a wider breach, till it became matter of publick cognizance, and was an occaſion for *Juſtin Martyr* to write that excellent *Apology* for the Chriſtians. Upon this account *Tertullian* juſtly condemns the madneſs of the Heathens, and their unreaſonable prejudice againſt Chriſtianity, that they would *hate* their neareſt relations meerly for being *Chriſtians*, though they ſaw how much they were every ways *bettered* by it in their lives and manners: the Father *diſ-inheriting* his Son, of whom now he had *no* cauſe left to complain, but that he was a *Chriſtian*: the Maſter *impriſoning* his ſervant, though now he had found him *uſeful* and neceſſary to him. But (what's more eſpecially to the purpoſe) he tells us of ſome huſbands he knew, who though before ſo infinitely *jealous* of their wives (and poſſibly not without reaſon) that a *Mouſe* could not ſtir in the room but it muſt be a *Gallant* creeping to their bed, yet when upon

Part 2.

Ad Nation. lib. 1. c. 4. p. 43.

Part 2. their turning Christians they became so eminently reserved, chaste, and modest, that there was not the least foundation for suspicion, their *jealousy* was converted into *hatred*, and they vow'd they had rather their wives should be *Strumpets* than *Christians*. So obstinately (*says he*) do men stand in their own *light*; and contend against those advantages which they might reap by Christianity. This Argument from the powerful and successful influence of the Christian Faith, *Origen* frequently makes use of; They must needs (*says he*) confess the excellency and *divinity* of Christs doctrine, who-ever do but look into the *lives* of those that adhere to it, comparing their former course of life with that which they now lead, and considering in what impurities, lusts and wickednesses every one of them wallowed before they embraced this doctrine; but since that they entertained it, how much more grave, moderate and constant are they become, insomuch that some of them out of a desire of a more *transcendent* purity, and that they may worship God with a chaster mind, deny themselves even the pleasures of a

Ad Celf. lib. 1. p. 21.

lawful

lawful bed: The same he affirms elsewhere, that those whom the *Gentiles* scorn'd as the most rude and sottish persons, being once initiated into the faith and discipline of the holy *Jesus*, were so far from lasciviousness, filthiness, and all manner of uncleanness, that like *Priests* wholly devoted to God, they altogether abstain even from allowed embraces; that there was no need for them (as some of the best among the *Gentiles* have done) to use arts and *medicines* to keep them chaste; nor *Guardians* set over them to preserve their Virginity; the word of God being sufficient to expel and drive out all irregular appetites and desires. This also *Tertullian* observes as the incomparable excellency of the Christian Doctrine above that of the best Philosophers, that whenas *Democritus* was forc'd to put out his *eys*, because not able to defend himself from the *charms* of beauty; a Christian could *look* upon a woman with chaste unseduced eyes, being at the same time inwardly *blind* as to any temptation from his lust; with such a mighty force did the Gospel come, and captivate mens hearts into the obedience of the truth.

Part 2. *Lib. 7. p. 365.*

Apol. c. 46. p. 36.

Part 2. truth. Thence *Lactantius* makes this triumphant challenge, where discoursing of the prevalency which the commands of God had upon the minds of men, as dayly experience did demonstrate; *Give me* (says he) *a man that's angry, furious, and passionate; and with a few words from God, I'le render him as meek and quiet as a Lamb: Give me one that's lustful, filthy and vicious, and you shall see him sober, chaste and continent:* the same he instances in most other Vices. *So great* (says he) *is the power of the divine wisdom, that being infused into the breast of a man, it will soon expell that folly which is the grand parent of all vice and wickedness.*

Lib. 3. de fals. sapient. c. 26. p. 328.

The innocency of Christians standing thus clear from this *wicked* imputation, it may not be amiss before we conclude to enquire a little into the *rise* and original of this absurd and malicious charge. *Origen* fathers it upon the *Jews*, as if they had falsly and spitefully invented it (as they did other things) to disgrace & prejudice Christianity, and he tells us that in some measure it succeeded accordingly, keeping many at a distance from the Christian Religion; and that even in his time there

Contr. Cels. lib. 6. p. 293, 294.

there were ſome who for this very reaſon would have no *diſcourſe* or *commerce* with a *Chriſtian*. But though both *Jew* and *Gentile* had malice and ſpite enough againſt the *Chriſtians*, yet I can hardly think that it was a *purely invented* falſhood, but that it had ſome ground of pretence, though ill applied; and ſo we ſhall find it had; for which we are to know that in the moſt early times of Chriſtianity there were ſeveral ſorts of *Hereticks* (who though they had their particular names, yet all call'd themſelves Chriſtians, accounting that hereby they *grac'd* and honour'd their party as *Epiphanius* tells us) the followers of *Simon Magus*, *Menander*, *Marcion*, *Marcus*, *Baſilides*, *&c.* who all went under the general name of *Gnoſticks*, and were under the pretence of Religion guilty of the moſt prodigious villanies, and particularly thoſe we are ſpeaking of: *Irenæus* reports of them that they gave up themſelves to all filthineſs and beſtiality, not only privately *corrupting* the women whom they had inveagled into their Sect (as ſome of them returning after to the Church *confeſs* with ſhame and ſorrow) but openly and with bare face

Part 2.

Hæreſ. 29. *p.* 98.

Adv. Hæreſ. lib. 1. *c.* 1. *p.* 28. *vid. etiam c.* 9. *p.* 70. *&c.* 31. *p.* 132.

Part 2. face *marrying* the women whom they had *ſeduced* from their huſbands; committing the moſt execrable wickedneſſes, and *laughing* at the pious and *Orthodox* Chriſtians, whom the *fear of God* reſtrained from ſin either in word or thought, as a company of *ignorant* and *ſilly* fellows; magnifying themſelves, ſtyling themſelves *perfect and the Seeds of Election:* and much more in other places to the ſame purpoſe; where he gives account of the prophane and helliſh Rites of their Aſſemblies. Of the *Carpocratians*, another gang of thoſe *brutiſh* Heriticks, *Clemens Alexandrinus* relates the ſame both as to their doctrines and practices, reporting the matter almoſt in the very ſame circumſtances wherein it is charg'd upon the Chriſtians by the Heathen in *Min. Fœlix*, *viz.* that both men and women uſed to meet at *ſupper* (which they had in imitation of the true *Chriſtian* ἀγάπη or *Love-feaſt*) where after they had loaded themſelves with a plentiful meal, to prevent all ſhame, if they had any remain'd, they put out the *lights*, and then promiſcuouſly mix'd in filthineſs with one another, or elſe each ſorting as they pleas'd. And of the

Stromat. lib. 3. p. 430.

Gnoſticks

Gnosticks Epiphanius tells us, that they had their wives in *common*, and if any ſtranger of their party came to them, both men and women had this *mark* and *ſign* to know one another by; ſtretching out their *hands* by way of ſalutation, they uſed to *tickle* each other in the *ball* of the hand, by which they were ſatisfied, that the ſtranger really was of their gang and party: Amongſt their brethren the *Carpocratians* they were wont to *mark* their Diſciples and Proſelytes under the *right ear* with a brand, a ſlit, or a hole, that they might the more readily diſcern them; (This agrees exactly with the charge of the Heathens, that they *knew* one another at the *firſt ſight* by *privy* marks and ſigns) and having thus own'd and received each other, they went to their luxurious feaſts, and to thoſe horrid brutiſhneſſes that followed after. Part 2. *Hæreſ.* 26. *p.* 42. *Ib. Hæreſ.* 27. *p.* 51.

Now this being the caſe with theſe abominable wretches, who yet had the face to call themſelves *Chriſtians*, it is no wonder if *Jews* and *Gentiles*, who were greedy of any occaſion to beſpatter and reproach *Chriſtians*, and rather than not *find* an occaſion would *make* one,

Part 2. one, charg'd it upon all Christians, either not knowing it to be otherwise, or if they did, not willing to *distinguish* between true and false: And that this was the true and only rise and ground of the charge, besides some intimations of it in *Justin Martyr*, we have it expresly asserted by *Eusebius*, as that which gave being to that absurd and impious Opinion, which spred so fast amongst the Heathens, of the Christians being guilty of promiscuous mixtures, to the great reproach and infamy of the *Christian* Name. I do not deny but this malicious report might receive strength and *encouragement* from the servants of some Christians, who being rack'd by the Heathens might confess what they put into their mouths, and this charge amongst the rest. This the same *Historian* relates out of the letters of the Churches in *France*; Certain Gentiles who were servants to some Christians, being apprehended, and having seen the exquisite torments which the Christians were put to, for fear of the like, did at the *instance* of the Souldiers who *urg'd* them to it, confess, that the Christians had amongst them *incestuous* mixtures, and suppers furnish'd

Apol. 2 p. 56. 70. *Hist. Eccl. lib.* 4. *c.* 7. *p.* 120.

Lib. 5. *c.* 1. *p.* 156.

furnish'd with *mans* flesh, laying such things to their charge as they held unlawful to *speak* or *think* of, or could *believe* were ever done by men: which being once divulg'd, they every where fell upon the Christians with the greatest rage and fierceness. So in the persecution under *Maximinus*, one of the Commanders that then resided at *Damascus*, laid hold of a few light inconsiderable *women* in the Market, and threatning them with the Rack, forc'd the wretches publickly to confess that they had formerly been Christians, and that they knew all their *Villanies*, that in their Religious Meetings they committed the most beastly actions; and indeed, what ever else he would have them say that might disgrace Christianity. This *Confession* of theirs he caus'd to be entred into the publick *Records*, and then transmitted it to the *Emperour*, by whose Command it was immediately *Published* in all Cities and Places of the Empire. So industriously did the malice of Men and Devils bend all the *nerves* of their power and subtilty (though in vain) either wholly to *suppress*, or at least to *dis-hearten* and baffle out the Christians: Which brings

Part 2.

Id. lib. 9. c. 5. p. 350.

me

Part 2. me to the consideration of another Vertue no less remarkable in the Christians of those times.

CHAP. VI.

Of their readiness and constancy in professing their Religion.

Their courage and undauntedness in professing the Truth though reproach'd and persecuted. Their open and resolute owning it to the face of their enemies, and in defiance of the greatest dangers. The story of Victorinus *the Rhetorician converted by* Simplician. *The free and impartial Answers of* Maris *to* Julian, *of* Basil *to the* Arrian *Governour.* Polycarp's *refusing to fly when Officers were sent to apprehend him. His resolute carriage before the Proconsul. The like of* Cyprian. *No torments could make them deny Christ. Women unconquerable. The excellent instance of* Blandina *and others. Divers voluntarily offering themselves. Others offering to plead the cause of the Christians, though with the immediate*

mediate hazard of their lives. This boldneſs and reſolution noted as an argument of the excellency of their Religion, and the goodneſs of their cauſe above that of the beſt Philoſophers. Ariſtoteles *flying for fear of ſuffering for his Opinions. The cowardly ſilence of* Iamblichus *his Scholars. This reſolution of theirs confeſſed by Heathens,* Pliny, Apollo's *Oracle in the caſe of* Porphyrie's *wife,* Galen. *The conſtancy of Chriſtians to their Religion proverbial.* Part 2.

WHen our bleſſed *Saviour* ſent out his Diſciples to preach the Goſpel, he acquainted them with the *difficulties* that were like to attend their meſſage, but with all bad them arm themſelves with **Conſtancy** and Reſolution, and not to regard the ſcoffs and reproaches, the miſeries and ſufferings that might fall upon them, *not to fear them that could only kill the body,* but to make a free and bold *Confeſſion* of his Name before the world, and chearfully to *take up their Croſs and follow him:* and *S. Paul,* though himſelf then in chains at *Rome,* exhorts the Chriſtians to *ſtand faſt in one ſpirit,*

Part 2. *with one mind striving together for the Faith of the Gospel, being in nothing terrified by their adversaries, it being given them on the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake*, which made it very necessary for them to have their *feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of Peace*: And certainly, if ever true courage and greatness of mind appear'd in any persons in the world, it was in the *Christians* of those times, who with such a generous and unterrified mind defied dangers and torments, own'd and gloried in the profession of Christianity against all the threats, reproaches, and persecutions which the worst of their adversaries could make against them. We shall first see what account their *Apologists* give of it even before their enemies, and then how they made it good in their lives and actions.

Apol. 2. p. 93. *Justin Martyr* speaking of the successfull propagation of the Gospel, immediately upon *Christs* resurrection and ascension into Heaven, The Apostles of Christ (*says he*) going forth from *Jerusalem*, preach'd the powerful Word in every place; although it were *Capital* either to *preach* or to *profess* the Name

Name of *Chriſt*, which yet we do eve- Part 2.
ry-where embrace and teach: which if you, as enemies, ſtill go on to obſtruct, the worſt you can do, is but to *kill* us, whereby you will do us no great harm, but will purchaſe to your ſelves, and to all thoſe that unjuſtly perſecute us, and perſiſt impenitent in their proceedings, the *vengeance* of eternal flames. And when *Trypho* the *Jew* had charg'd *Chriſtianity* for an idle ſtory, and the *Chriſtians* for no better than *fools* to quit all the conveniencies of this life upon the account of it; the *Martyr* anſwers, that this proceeded from his ignorance, and an implicit aſſent to the abſurd and malicious inſinuations of their *Rabbins*, who underſtood very little of the *Scriptures*; that would he but admit the true reaſons of Chriſtianity, he would quickly underſtand how far they were from being in an errour, and how little reaſon they had to quit their profeſſion, although men did ſufficiently ſcorn and reproach them for it, and the powers of the world endeavour to force them to renounce and forſake it: notwithſtanding all which, they choſe rather to dye, and chearfully underwent it; being ful-

Dial. cum Tryph. p. 226.

Ib. p. 323. D.

Part 2. ly assur'd, that what God had *promised* through *Christ* he would infallibly
Ibid. p. 337. make good to them. And discoursing afterwards of the same matter, As for us (*says he*) that have entertain'd the Religion of the Holy *Jesus*, your selves know very well, that there's none throughout the world that's able to *subdue* or *affright* us out of our profession; nothing being plainer, than that though our heads be exposed to *Swords* and *Axes*, our bodies fastned to the *Cross*, though thrown to *wild beasts*, harrassed out with *chains*, *fire*, and all other instruments of *torment*, yet do we not start from our profession; nay, the more these things happen to us, the faster others flock over to the Name of *Jesus*, and become pious and devout followers of *Christ*; it being with us in this case, as with a *Vine*, which being *prun'd* and *trim'd*, and its luxurious excrescences par'd off, brings forth more
Ibid. p. 349 fruitful and flourishing branches. How little he valued any danger in competition with the truth, he tells his adversary he might know by this, that he would not stifle and conceal it, although they should immediately tear him in pieces for it; and therefore

when

when he saw his Countrymen the *Samaritans* seduc'd by the Impostures of *Simon Magus*, whom they held to be a *God above all Principality and Power*, he could not but by an address make his complaint to *Cæsar*, not regarding the hazards and troubles that might ensue upon it. *Tertullian* giving the Heathens an account of that *Christ* whom they worship'd, tells them they might well believe it to be true, for that no man might *lye* for his Religion, to *dissemble* in this case being to *deny*; a thing which could not be charg'd upon the *Christians*, who own'd and stood to it with their last drop of blood: We speak it *(says he)* and we speak it *openly*, yea while you are *tearing* our flesh, and *shedding* our blood, we cry aloud, that we *worship* God through *Christ*: So fully were they satisfied in the truth of their Religion, as to be ready rather a thousand times to *dye* than to *deny* it. Part 2. *Apol. c.* 21. *p.* 21.

Nor were these meerly big *words* with which the *Christians* vapour'd in the sight of their enemies, we shall find that they made them good by *acting* suitable to these professions and protestations. They did not then think

Part 2. it enough to espouse the faith of *Christ*, unless they publickly testified it to the world; whereof this instance amongst others: *Victorinus* a *Rhetorician* of *Rome*, a man of so great note and fame, that he had obtain'd the honour of a publick *Statue*, but a zealous defender of *Paganism* and *Idolatry*, had read the Holy Scriptures, by which being convinc'd, he came to *Simplician*, and privately told him that he was a *Christian*; which the other refus'd to believe unless he saw him testifie it in the publick Church; to which *Victorinus* return'd with a little scorn, *What, are they then the walls that make a Christian?* This answer he as oft return'd as the other urg'd a publick confession, for he was not willing to disoblige his great friends, who he knew would fall foul upon him: till by reading and meditation he gathered courage, and fearing that *Christ* would *deny* him before the *Holy Angels*, if he should refuse to *confess him before men*, he became sensible of his fault, and was asham'd of his vanity and folly, and calling to *Simplician*, *Let us go* (said he) *into the Church, I will now become a Christian*; which when he had done, and had been thorowly

August. Confes. lib. 8. c. 2. tom. 1. col. 136, 137.

thorowly inſtructed in the Faith of *Chriſt*, he offer'd himſelf to baptiſm; and being to make the accuſtomed *confeſſion* of his Faith, the Miniſters of the Church offer'd him the liberty of doing it in a more *private* way (as they were wont to do for thoſe who were of a fearful and baſhful temper) which he utterly refuſed, and openly made it before all the people; affirming it to be unreaſonable that he ſhould be aſhamed to confeſs his *hopes* of Salvation *before the people*, who while he taught *Rhetorick* (wherein he hoped for no ſuch reward) had *publickly* profeſſed it every day: An action that begat great wonder in *Rome*, as it was no leſs matter of rejoycing to the Church. No dangers could then ſway good men from doing of their duty. *Cyprian* highly commends *Cornelius* for taking the Biſhoprick of *Rome* upon him in ſo dangerous a time; for the greatneſs of his mind, and the unſhaken firmneſs of his Faith, and the undaunted managery of his place, at a time, when *Decius* the Tyrant threatn'd ſuch heavy ſeverities to the Miniſters of Chriſtianity, and would ſooner endure a *Corrival* in the Empire, than a *Biſhop* to ſit at *Rome*. Part 2. *Ad Antonian. Epiſt.* 52. p. 68.

Part 2. How freely, how impartially did they ſpeak their minds, even to the face of their biterreſt enemies? When *Maris* Biſhop of *Chalcedon*, a man blind with age, met *Julian* the *Emperour*, he boldly charged him with his *Atheiſm* and *Apoſtaſie* from the Chriſtian Faith; *Julian* reproach'd him with his *blindneſs*, and told him his *Galilean God* would never cure him; to which the good old man preſently anſwered, *I thank my God, who has taken away my ſight, that I might not behold the face of one that has laps'd into ſo great impiety.*

Socr. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 12. p. 183.

Were they at any time attempted by arts of *flattery* and enticement, the charms would not take place upon them. So when *Julian* both by himſelf and the Officers of his Army ſet upon the Souldiers, and by fair promiſes of preferments and rewards ſought to fetch them off from Chriſtianity, though he prevail'd upon ſome few weak and inſtable minds, yet the far greateſt part ſtood off; yea, by many even of the *meaneſt* and moſt inconſiderable quality his *temptations* were as reſolutely beaten back, as the *blow* of an Engine is by a wall of *marble*; nor were they any more ſhaken by ſtorms

Nazian. Orat. in Jul. 1. p. 75

and

and threatnings. When *Modeſtus* the Governour under *Valens* the *Arrian* Emperour could not by any means bring over *S. Baſil* to the party, he threatned him with ſeverity; Doſt thou not *fear* this power that I have? Why ſhould I fear ſaid *Baſil*, what canſt thou *do*, or what can I *ſuffer?* the other anſwered, the loſs of thy *Eſtate*, *Baniſhment*, *Torment*, and *Death*; but threaten us with ſomething elſe if thou canſt (ſaid *Baſil*) for none of theſe things can *reach* us; confiſcation of *Eſtate* cannot hurt him, that has nothing to loſe, unleſs thou wanteſt theſe *tatter'd* and thread-bare garments, and a few *Books* wherein all my eſtate lies; nor can I be properly *baniſhed*, who am not tied to any *place*, where-ever I am 'twill be my Country, *the whole earth is Gods*, in which I am but a *Pilgrim* and a ſtranger: I fear no *torments*, my body not being able to hold out beyond the firſt ſtroke; and for *death*, 'twill be a *kindneſs* to me, for 'twill but ſo much the *ſooner* ſend me unto *God*, for whoſe ſake I live, and am indeed in a great meaſure already dead, towards which I have been a long time haſtning: And there's no reaſon to wonder at this

Part 2. *Id. in laud. Baſil. Orat. 20. p. 349, 350.*

Part 2. this *freedom* of ſpeech; in other things we are meek and yielding; but when the *Cauſe* of *God* and Religion is concerned, over-looking all other things, we direct our thoughts only unto him; and then *fire* and *ſword*, *wild beaſts* and *engines* to tear off our fleſh, are ſo far from being a *terrour*, that they are rather a *pleaſure* and recreation to us: Reproach and threaten, and uſe your power to the utmoſt, yet let the Emperour *know*, that you ſhall never be able to make us aſſent to your *wicked* Doctrine, no, though you ſhould threaten ten thouſand times worſe than all this. The Governour was ſtrangely ſurpriz'd with the ſpirit and reſolution of the man, and went and told the *Emperour* that *one* poor Biſhop was too hard for them *all*. And indeed ſo big were their ſpirits with a deſire to aſſert and propagate their Religion, that they would not hide their heads to decline the greateſt dangers. When the Officers were ſent to apprehend *S. Polycarp*, and had with great induſtry and cruelty found out the place where he was, though he had timely notice to have eſcaped by going into another houſe, yet he refus'd, ſaying,

Euſ. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 4. c. 15. p. 130.

ing, *the will of the Lord be done*; and coming down out of his Chamber, saluted the Officers with a chearful and a pleasant countenance: as they were carrying him back, two persons of eminency and authority met him in the way, took him up into their Chariot, labour'd by all means to perswade him to *do sacrifice*; which when he absolutely refus'd after all their importunities, they turn'd their *kindness* into *reproaches*, and tumbled him with so much violence out of the Chariot, that he was sorely *bruised* with the fall; but nothing daunted, as if he had received no harm, he chearfully went on his way, a *voice* being heard as he went along, as it were from Heaven, *Polycarp, be strong, and quit thy self like a man.* When he came before the Tribunal, the *Proconsul* asked him whether he was *Polycarp*, which he presently confessed; then he attempted by all arts of perswasion to urge him to *deny Christ*, or to do but *something* that might look *like* it, but all in vain; *These fourscore and six years* (says he) *have I served Christ, and he never did me any harm, and how then can I blaspheme my Master and my Saviour?* Being Part 2.

Part 2. ing urg'd to ſwear by the Emperours *Genius*, he replyed, Foraſmuch as thou preſſeſt me to do this, pretending thou knoweſt not who I am, know, *I am a Chriſtian*; then the *Proconſul* told him he would throw him to the *wild beaſts*, unleſs he alter'd his Opinion: Call for them (anſwered *Polycarp*) for we have no mind to change from *better* to *worſe*; as counting that change only to be honeſt and laudable, which is from *Vice* to *Vertue*: But if thou makeſt ſo light of wild beaſts (added the *Proconſul*) I'le have a *fire* that ſhall tame thee; to which the good old man return'd, You threaten, Sir, a *fire* that will burn for an *hour*, and preſently be *extinguiſhed*; but know not that there is a fire of *eternal* damnation in the judgement to come, reſerv'd for the puniſhment of all wicked men: But why delay you? execute what ever you have a mind to. This and much more to the ſame purpoſe he diſcourſed of, to the great admiration of the *Proconſul*; being ſo far from being terrified with what was ſaid to him, that he was filled with *joy* and chearfulneſs, and a certain *grace* and lovelineſs over-ſpread his face.

So

So likewise when *Cyprian* was brought before the *Proconsul*; Thou art (*said he*) *Thascius Cyprian*, who hast been a *ringleader* to men of a *wicked* mind; the Emperours command thee to do *sacrifice*, and therefore consult thy welfare: To which he answered, *I am Cyprian, I am a Christian, and I cannot sacrifice to your gods; do therefore what you are commanded; as for me, in so just a cause there needs no consultation*; and when the sentence was pronounced against him, he cried out, *I heartily thank Almighty God, who is pleased to free me from the chains of this earthly carcass.* Had torments and the very extremities of cruelty been able to *sink* their Courage, it had soon been trodden under foot; but it was triumphant in the midst of torments, and lift up its head *higher*, the *greater* the loads that were layd upon it; whereof there are instances enough in the *Histories* of the Church; nay in this triumph even the *weaker* Sex bore no inconsiderable part. *Eusebius* tells us (among others that suffered in the *French* persecution under *M. Aurelius*) of one *Blandina*, a good woman, but of whom the Church was afraid how she

Part 2. *Act. Passion Cypr. in vit. ejus. p.* 17.

Hist. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 1. p. 157.

Part 2. she would hold out to make a resolute confession, by reason of the weakness of her body, and the tenderness of her education, that when she came to't, she bore up with such invincible magnanimity, that her tormentors though they took their turns from morning to night, and plied her with all kinds of racks and tortures, were yet forced to *give* over, and confess themselves *overcome*; and wondring that a body so broken and mangled should yet be able to draw its breath: But this noble *Athleta* gain'd strength by suffering, she eased and refreshed her self, and mitigated the sense of present pain by repeating these words, *I am a Christian*; and, *No evil is done by us.* Nor did they only generously bear these things for the sake of their Religion, when they were layd upon them, but many times freely offered themselves, confessing themselves to be *Christians* when they knew that their confession would cost their lives. So did those noble *Martyrs* whom *Eusebius* saw at *Thebais*, multitudes having been executed every day with all imaginable cruelties; sentence was no sooner pass'd against one party of them,

Lib. 8. c. 9. p. 301.

them, but others presented themselves before the *Tribunal*, and confessed that they were *Christians*, receiving the fatal sentence with all possible expressions of chearfulness and rejoycing: The same which he also reports of six young men that suffered in *Palestine*, spontaneously addressing themselves to the Governour of the *Province*, owning that they were Christians, and ready to undergo the severest punishments. In the *Acts* of S. *Cyprian*'s passion we are told, that the President having caus'd a mighty *furnace* to be filled with *burning lime*, and *fire* with heaps of *frankincense* round about the brim of it, gave the Christians this choice, either to *burn* the frankincense in sacrifice to *Jupiter*, or to be *thrown* into the furnace: Whereupon three hundred men being arm'd with an unconquerable faith, and confessing *Christ* to be the *Son* of *God*, leaped into the midst of the fiery furnace, with whose fumes and vapours they were immediately suffocated and swallowed up.

Part 2.

De Martyr. Palæst. c. 3. p. 321.

Ubi supr. p. 16.

There wanted not some who in the hottest persecutions durst venture to undertake the cause of *Christians*, and

to

Part 2. to *plead* it before the face of their bit-
Euseb. lib. 5. c. 1. p. 155. tereſt enemies; thus did *Vettius Epagathus* a man full of zeal and piety, who ſeeing his fellow-Chriſtians unjuſtly dragged before the Judgment-ſeat, required leave of the *Preſident* that he might plead his brethrens cauſe, and openly ſhew that they were not guilty of the leaſt wickedneſs and impiety: but not daring to grant him ſo reaſonable a requeſt, the Judge took the advantage of asking him whether he was a *Chriſtian*, which he publickly owning, was adjudged to the ſame
Ib. lib. 6. c. 3. p. 204. Martyrdom with the reſt. Of *Origen* we read, that though then but eighteen years of age, yet he was wont not only to wait upon the *Martyrs* in priſon, but to attend upon them at their tryals, and the times of their execution, kiſſing and embracing them, and boldly preaching and profeſſing the faith of *Chriſt*, inſomuch that had he not been many times miraculouſly preſerved, the *Gentiles* had pelted him to death with ſtones, for they mortally
Ib. cap. 2. p. 202. hated him for his induſtrious and undaunted propagation of the Faith: Nay, when but a Boy, and his Father *Leontius* was ſeized upon, he wrote to

his

his Father, most earnestly pressing him to persevere unto Martyrdom, and not to concern himself what might become of his wife and children, nor for their sakes to decline that excellent cause he was ingaged in. Part 2.

By this free and chearful undergoing the greatest miseries rather than deny or prejudice their Religion, Christians evidentally demonstrated the goodness of their Principles, and shewed they were no such persons as their enemies commonly look'd upon them; that a Christian (as *Ignatius* observes) is not the child of *fancy* and perswasion, but of true *gallantry* and greatness of spirit, having so much hatred of the World to grapple and contend with. Those who are Malefactors (as *Tertullian* argues) desire to be *concealed*, and shun to appear; being apprehended, they *tremble*; being accused, they *deny*; being racked do not easily nor always *confess* the truth; however being condemn'd, they are *sad*, search into and censure themselves, are *unwilling* to acknowledge their wickednesses to be their own, and accordingly impute them either to their *fate* or *Stars*. But what is there like this

Epist. ad Roman. p. 57.

Apol. c. 1. *p.* 2.

Part 2. to be found in *Chriſtians?* Amongſt them no man is *aſham'd*, none *repents* him of being a *Chriſtian*, unleſs it be that he was no *ſooner* ſo; if marked out, he *glories*; if accuſed, he ſtands not to *defend* himſelf; being interrogated, he confeſſes of his own accord; being condemn'd, he *gives thanks*: what evil then can there be in this, which is ſo far from having any ſhadow of *evil*, any *fear*, *ſhame*, *tergiverſation*, *repentance*, *deplorableneſs* to attend it? What evil can that be, of which he that is guilty *rejoyces?* of which to be accuſed, is their *vote* and *deſire*; and for which to be puniſhed is their *happineſs* and *felicity?* This likewiſe *Arnobius* lays down as a grand evidence of the divinity of the *Chriſtian* faith, that in ſo ſhort a time it had conquered ſo much of the world, ſubdued men of the greateſt parts and learning, made them willing to quit their belov'd *opinions*, to forfeit their *eſtates*, to part with their *eaſe* and *pleaſures*, and to ſubmit to torments rather than violate the faith of *Chriſt*, or ſtart from the *ſtation* they had entred upon. By this excellent temper and carriage they admirably triumphed over the beſt men

Adv. gent. lib. 2. p. 21.

men amongſt the *Gentiles*, none of whom durſt engage ſo deep for the defence of their *deareſt* ſentiments as the *Chriſtians* did for theirs; witneſs *Plato* who ſet up the *Academy*, and brought in an *obſcure* and *ambiguous* way of delivering his opinions, leſt by ſpeaking out he ſhould fall under the ſentence and the fate of *Socrates*. Thus *Origen* puts *Celſus* in mind of *Ariſtotle*, who underſtanding that the *Athenians* intended to call him to account for ſome of his (as they thought them) *un-orthodox* opinions, immediately remov'd his School, ſaying to his Friends, *Let's be gone from Athens, leſt we give them an occaſion of being guilty of a ſecond wickedneſs, like to that which they committed againſt* Socrates, *and leſt they again offend againſt the Majeſty of Philoſophy:* it being alas! not *kindneſs* to the *Athenians*, but *cowardiſe* and fear of puniſhment made him ſo haſtily pack up begon, and leave his opinions behind him to ſhift for themſelves as well as they could. Nay, *Eunapius* himſelf confeſſes that in the time of *Conſtantine*, when *Paganiſm* began to go down the wind, and *Chriſtianity* to be advanced and honoured, their beſt Phi-

Cont. Celſ. lib. 1. p. 51.

In vit. Ædeſii. p. 33.

Part 2. losophers, the great Scholars of *Iamblichus* took sanctuary at a mysterious *secrecy*, and wisely kept their *dogmata* and opinions to themselves, sealed up under a profound and religious silence. No, they were the Christians only, the very *meanest* of whom durst stand by and defend *naked* truth in the face of danger and death it self; this being (as *Eusebius* notes) one of the most wonderful things in *Christian* Religion, that they who embrace it, are not only ready to profess it in words, but entertain it with such a mighty affection and sincerity of soul, as willingly to prefer the bearing testimony to it even before life it self. And indeed this piece of right is done them by *Pliny* himself, where speaking of some, who having been accused for *Christians*, to shew how far they were from it, readily *blasphemed Christ* and *sacrificed* to the gods; he adds, *none of which it's said that they who are truly Christians can by any means be compelled to do.* Nay thus much is confessed by the *Oracle* it self, for when *Porphyry* the great Philosopher, and acute enemy of the Christians, enquired of *Apollo*'s Oracle, what *god* he should make his address to for the

Hist. lib. 1. c. 3. p. 14.

Epist. 97. lib. 10.

the recovery of his *wife* back from *Christianity*, the *Oracle* returned him this Answer, (as himself reported it in his Book περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας, not Στολογία φιλοσοφίας, as 'tis corruptly in S. *Augustin* 5 a Book frequently cited both by *Eusebius* and *Theodoret*; where by the way in the *Latin* Version of *Theodoret* 'tis by a strange mistake rendred *de Electorum Philosophia*, as if it had been ἐκλογῶν: in this Book concerning the *Philosophy* drawn from *Oracles*, he tells us he received this *answer*) *that he might as well, and to better purpose attempt to write upon the surface of the water, or to fly like a bird in the air, than to reduce his wife from those wicked sentiments she had taken in.* And this was so common and notorious, that it became in a manner *Proverbial*; whence that of *Galen*, when he would express how pertinaciously the Philosophers adhered to those sentiments they had once drunk in, and how very hard and almost impossible it was to convince them, *Sooner*, says he, *may a man undeceive a Jew or a Christian, and make them renounce the doctrines of Moses or of Christ, than Philosophers and Physicians that* Part 2.

Apud August. de Civ. Dei lib. 19. c. 23. col. 1181. de prapar. Evang. lib. 4. de Curand. Grac. Affect.

Ὅτ᾽ ἔστιν γὰρ ἄν τις τὸν Ἰουδαῖον ἢ Χριστιανὸν μεταδιδάξειν, ἢ τοὺς τῶν αἱρέσεων φροντιστὰς ἰατρούς τε καὶ φιλοσόφους. Galen. περὶ διαφ. αἱρ. lib. 3. fol. 18. p. 2. Tom. 2.

Part 2. *are once addicted to their ſeveral Sects.*

CHAP. VII.

Of their Exemplary Patience under Sufferings.

Chriſtianity likely to engage its followers in ſuffering, and why. Continual Edicts put forth againſt Chriſtians. The form of thoſe Imperial orders exemplified out of the Acts of the Martyrs. The fierce oppoſition of the Roman *Emperours, and their probable hopes of having deſtroyed Chriſtianity evidenced from ſeveral Inſcriptions to that purpoſe found in* Spain. *The greatneſs of the torments Chriſtians endured; ſome of the ordinary kinds of them deſcrib'd. The Croſs; the pain and ignominy of it; Perſons crucified with their heads downwards. The Rack, what.* Cataſta: ad Pulpitum poſt Cataſtam. Ungulæ: *one of theſe kept and ador'd as a Relique at* Rome. *The Wheel. Burning. Throwing to wild beaſts. Being condemned*

condemned to Mines; their treatment there and the case of such persons. Some of the extraordinary ways of punishment used towards Christians. Torn asunder by branches of trees: burnt in pitch'd coats: boyl'd in pots of oyl or lead, &c. *Their carriage under these sufferings sedate and calm; meek and patient. Their refusing to make use of opportunities to avoid suffering. Whither they might fly and withdraw in times of persecution; Allow'd and practis'd in some cases; two instanc'd in. Where persons were of more than ordinary use and eminency. Where they were weak for the present, and not like to hold out. Prov'd by particular instances. Their chearful offering themselves to the rage and fury of their enemies, confessed by the relation of their Judges and bittrest Adversaries,* Tiberianus, Arrius Antoninus, Lucian. *The earnest desire of Martyrdom in* Ignatius, Laurentius, Origen *and others. When unjustly condemned, their Judges thanked for condemning them. Their glorying in suffering and being crucified.* Babylas *the Martyr's chains buried with him. No signs of* Part 2.

Part 2. *an impatient mind under their bitterest torments. An account of their chearful ſuffering out of* Cyprian. *Their patience wondred at by their enemies. Their grand ſupport under ſuffering; the hopes and aſſurance of a reward in Heaven. The caſe of the forty Martyrs in St.* Baſil. *Pſalms ſung at the Funerals of Chriſtians, and Lights carried before the Corps, and why. Chriſtianity vaſtly increaſed by the patience and conſtancy of Chriſtians.* Juſtin Martyr's *account of his converſion by this means.* Julian *generally refuſed to put Chriſtians to death, and why. The teſtimonies of ſeveral Heathens concerning the Chriſtians courage and patience under ſufferings.*

THat the Chriſtian Religion at its firſt appearing in the World was likely to engage its followers in miſeries and ſufferings, could not be unknown to any that conſidered the *nature* of its doctrine, and the *tendency* of its deſign: The *ſeverity* of its precepts ſo directly oppoſite to the *corrupt* and vicious inclinations of men; the *purity* of its worſhip ſo flatly contrary

trary to the *looſe* and obſcene rites and ſolemnities of the Heathens; its abſolute *inconſiſtency* with thoſe Religions which had obtained for ſo many Ages, which then had ſuch firm *poſſeſſions* of the minds of men, and all the *powers* and *policies* of the world to ſecure and back them, could not propheſie to it any kind or welcome entertainment. *This Sect* (for ſo they call'd it) *was every where* not only *ſpoken*, but *fought againſt*; for ſince men have a natural veneration for *Antiquity*, and eſpecially in matters of Religion, they thought themſelves concerned to defend that way that had been convey'd to them from their *Anceſtours*, and to ſet themſelves with might and main againſt whatever might oppoſe it: eſpecially the *great ones* of thoſe times and the *Roman Emperours* made it their maſter-deſign to oppreſs and ſtifle this *infant* Religion, and to baniſh it out of the World. Hence thoſe Imperial *orders* that were dayly ſent abroad into all parts of the Empire, to command and impower their Governours to ruine and deſtroy the *Chriſtians*; of which that we may the better apprehend the *form* of them, it may not be amiſs to ſet Part 2.

down

Part 2. down one or two of them out of the *acts* of the *Martyrs*. This following was agreed upon both by the *Emperours* and the whole *Senate* of *Rome*.

Metraphrast. in Martyr. S. Mercur. apud Sur. ad 24 Novemb. Tom. 6.

Decius *and* Valerian *Emperours*, *Triumphers*, *Conquerours*, *August*, *Pious*, *together with the whole Senate*, *have by common consent decreed thus. Whereas we have received the gifts and blessings of the gods*, *by whom we enjoy victory over our enemies*, *as also temperate seasons and fruits in great plenty and abundance*; *since we have found them our great benefactours*, *and to supply us with those things that are universally beneficial to all: We therefore unanimously decree*, *that all orders of men*, *as well children as servants*, *souldiers as private persons shall offer sacrifices to the gods*, *doing reverence and supplication to them. And if any shall dare to violate our divine order thus unanimously agreed upon*, *we command*, *that he be cast into prison*, *and afterwards exposed to several kinds of torments*; *if by this means he be reclaimed*, *he may expect no mean honours from us. But if he shall persist contumacious*, *after many tortures let him be beheaded*, *or thrown into the sea*, *or cast out to be devoured by dogs and birds of prey.*

prey. But especially if there be any found of the Religion of the Christians. As for those that obey our Decrees, they shall receive great honours and rewards from us. So happily fare ye well. Part 2.

To this we may add that short *Rescript* of *Valerian*. Valerian *the Emperour to the Ministers and Governours of Provinces. We understand that the precepts of the Laws are violated by those who in these days call themselves Christians. Wherefore we will, that apprehending them, unless they sacrifice to our gods, you expose them to divers kinds of punishments; that so both justice may have place without delay, and vengeance in cutting off impieties having attain'd its end, may proceed no further.* This course they prosecuted with so much vigour and fierceness, that some of them boasted, that they had absolutely effected their design. Witness those *Trophies* and Triumphant *Arches* that were every were erected to perpetuate the memory of their Conquest over Christianity: whereof these two *Inscriptions* found at *Clunia* in *Spain* are a sufficient evidence. *Act. Symphor. apud Sur. ad 22 Aug. Tom. 4.*

DIOCLE-

Part 2.

Gruter. Inscript. p. 280. Num. 3.

DIOCLETIANUS. JOVIUS. ET.
MAXIMIAN. HERCULEUS.
CAES. AUGG.
AMPLIFICATO. PER. ORIEN
TEM. ET. OCCIDENTEM.
IMP. ROM.
ET.
NOMINE. CHRISTIANORUM.
DELETO. QUI. REMP. EVER
TEBANT.

The other,

Ibid. num. 4.

DIOCLETIAN. CAES.
AUG. GALERIO. IN. ORI
ENTE. ADOPT. SUPERS
TITIONE. CHRIST--
UBIQ. DELETA. ET. CUL
TU. DEOR. PROPAGATO.

The meaning of both which is to ſhew, that *Diocletian* and his Colleague *Maximianus* had every where extinguiſhed the wicked *Superſtition* of *Chriſt*, ſo *pernicious* to the Commonwealth, and had reſtor'd *Paganiſm* and the worſhip of the *gods*. But long before them we find *Nero* (the *firſt* Emperour that raiſed perſecution againſt the *Chriſtians*, as *Tertullian* notes) ſo active

active in the buſineſs, as to glory (or ſome flatterers in his behalf) that he had done the work. Witneſs an *Inſcription* found alſo in *Spain*. Part 2.

NERONI. CL. CAIS.
AUG. PONT. MAX.

OB. PROVINC. LATRONIB.
ET. HIS. QUI. NOVAM
GENERI. HUM. SUPER
STITION. INCULCAB.

PURGATAM.

ibid. Pag. 238. *num.* 9.

. . . . . .
. . . . . .

This *Inſcription* was ſet up in memory of his having *purged the Country of Robbers, and ſuch as had introduc'd and obtruded a new ſuperſtition upon mankind.* The *Chriſtians* it's true are not particularly *nam'd* in it (probably the *Gentiles* ſo much deteſted the very name of *Chriſtian*, that eſpecially in publick Monuments they would not mention it) yet can it be meant of no other. For beſides that this Character of *Inculcating* their Superſtition admirably agrees to *Chriſtians*, who ſought by

Part 2. by all means to *inſtil* their Principles into the minds of men; beſides that *Superſtition* was the common *Title* by which the Gentiles were wont to denote Chriſtianity; beſides this, there was not (as *Baronius* obſerves) any other *New* Religion at that time, or long *before* or *after*, that appeared in the world; to be ſure none that could be the object of *Nero*'s perſecution. And how he entertain'd this, *Tertullian* ſufficiently intimates, bidding them ſearch their own *Records*, and they would find. And from this very *Inſcription* alone it's evident, they thought, that (at leaſt in that part of the world) they had wholly *extirpated* and rooted it out. By all which we may gueſs, what hot ſervice the *Chriſtians* had on't under thoſe Primitive Perſecutions. Indeed their ſufferings were beyond all imagination great, which yet did but ſo much the more exerciſe and advance their **Patience**, the bitterneſs of their ſufferings making their patience more eminent and illuſtrious. Of which that we may take the truer meaſures, 'twill be neceſſary to conſider theſe two things, the *greatneſs* of thoſe *torments* and ſufferings which the Chriſtians generally

Ad Ann. Chr. 69.

Apol. c. 5. p. 6.

nerally underwent; and then the *manner* of their carriage under them. Part 2.

For the First, the greatness of those *torments* and sufferings which they underwent, they were as bad as the wit and malice of either *Men* or *Devils* could invent; in the consideration whereof we shall first take a view of those punishments which were more standing and *ordinary*, familiarly used amongst the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and then of such as were *extraordinarily* made use of towards the Christians: Amongst their ordinary methods of Execution, these six were most eminent, the *Cross*, the *Rack*, the *Wheele*, *Burning*, *wild Beasts*, condemning to *Mines*.

I. The **Cross** deserves the first place in our account, not only as having been one of the most *ancient* and *universal* way of punishment amongst the *Gentiles*, and from them brought in amongst the *Jews*, but as being the instrument by which our *Blessed Saviour* himself was put to death. Omitting the various and different forms and kinds of it, which were all used towards the Primitive Christians, I intend here only that that was most common, a straight

piece

Part 2. piece of wood fixed in the ground, having a transverse beam fastned near the top of it, not unlike the letter T, though probably it had also a piece of wood arising above the top of it; and there were *two things* in this way of punishment, which rendred it very severe, the *pain* and *ignominy* of it: Painful it must needs be, because the party suffering was fastned to it with *nayles* driven through his *hands* and *feet*, which being the parts where the *nerves* and *sinews* terminate and meet together, must needs be most acutely sensible of wounds and violence: and because they were pierced only in these parts so far distant from the *Vitals*, this made their death very *lingring* and tedious, doubled and trebled every pain upon them: Insomuch that some out of a *generous* compassion have caused malefactors first to be *strangled* before they were *crucified*, as *Julius Cæsar* did towards the *Pirates* whom he had sworn to execute upon the Cross: but no such favour was shewed to *Christians*; they were suffered to remain in the midst of all those exquisite pangs, till meer hunger starved them, or the mercy of wild beasts,

Sueton. in vit. Cæs. c. 74. p. 76.

Vid. Euseb. H. Eccl. lib. 8. c. 8. p. 300.

or

or birds of prey diſpatch'd them. Thus *S. Andrew* the Apoſtle continued *two whole* days upon the Croſs, teaching the people all the while; *Timotheus* and his wife *Maura* after many other torments hung upon the Croſs *nine days* together before they compleated their Martyrdom. Nor was the *ſhame* of this way of ſuffering leſs than the pain of it, crucifixion being the *peculiar* puniſhment of *Slaves*, *Traytors*, and the vileſt Malefactors, inſomuch, that for a *Freeman* to dye thus, was accounted the higheſt accent of ignominy and reproach; therefore the *Roman Hiſtorian* calls it *ſervile ſupplicium*, a puniſhment *proper* to ſlaves. Sometimes they were crucified with their heads *downwards*; thus *S. Peter* is ſaid to have been crucified; thus thoſe *Egyptian* Martyrs, who hung in this poſture, till they were ſtarv'd out of the world. But this puniſhment of the Croſs ſoon after the world was become Chriſtian, *Conſtantine* took away out of reverence to our *Saviour*, not being willing that that ſhould be the *puniſhment* of the vileſt malefactors, which had been the *Inſtrument* whereupon the Son of God had purchaſed *Salvation* for mankind.

Part 2. *Martyrol. Rom. ad diem 30. Novembr. p. 736. Ib. ad diem 3. Maii. p. 272.*

Vul. Gallit. in Avid. Caſ. c. 4. p. 248.

Vid. Laſt. de vit. ſap. c. 26. p. 436

Euſeb. lib. 3. c. 1. et lib. 8. ubi ſupr.

Sozom. lib. 1. c. 8. p. 412

Part 2. II. The **Rack**, called in Latin *Equuleus*, either from the ſcituation of the offenders body upon the Engine, reſembling a man on *horſeback*, or rather from the *horſing* or hoiſing of him up to it by ropes and ſcrews. The firſt deſign of it was to torment the guilty, or the ſuſpected perſon to make him *confeſs* the truth; what the particular form of it was is not agreed amongſt learned men; but this we may probably conceive, that it was an Engine fram'd of ſeveral pieces of timber joyned together, upon the top whereof upon a long *board* the ſuffering perſon being laid along upon his back and faſtned to it by his hands and feet, the Engine was ſo contriv'd with ſcrews and pullies, that all his members were *diſtended* with the utmoſt violence, even to a *luxation* of all the parts, and this more or leſs according to the tormentors pleaſures. Sometimes they were hung by the hands and feet *under* the top-board of the Engine, and tormented in that poſture; This Rack was a puniſhment which the Chriſtians were very frequently put to. Much of the ſame nature was that which they call'd the *Cataſta*, being a piece of wood raiſed

Cicer. pro Deiotar. p. 579. tom. 2.

Vid. Gallon de cruciat. martyr. c. 3.

sed up like a little scaffold, upon which Christians were set, that their torments might be more conspicuous; thence that proverb in *Cyprian*, *ad Pulpitum post Catastam venire*, speaking of *Aurelius* a Confessor, who having been publickly tormented upon this Engine was after ordain'd a *Reader* in the Church, and promoted to read the Scriptures out of the *Pulpit*, as he had lately confessed Christ upon the *Scaffold*: In this, as in that of the Rack, there were certain additional torments made by instruments called *Unguleæ*, which were a kind of iron *pinsers*, made with sharp iron teeth, with which the flesh was by piece-meal pull'd and torn off their backs. Part 2. *Epist.* 33. p. 47.

In the time of Pope *Paul* the third, one of these *Unguleæ*, as the authour of the *Roma Subterranea* tells us, was amongst other things found in the *Vatican Cœmitery* amongst the monuments of the *Martyrs*, and laid up amongst the other *Reliques* of that Church as an inestimable *treasure*, and a worthy object of *Religious* worship; being there kept to be seen and *ador'd* by all Christian people. And another of their writers being about to describe it, tells us,

Hæc unguld in sacrarium Sanctuario reliquiarum eiusdem basilicæ, religioso cultu, tanquam res omni pretiosior auro, diligentissimè asservatur; & Christianorum populo videnda ac venerandæ proponitur. Rom. subter. lib. 2. c. 4. num. 16. pag. 149. Gallon. ib. c. 5. p. 183.

Part 2. us, that though altogether *unworthy* of such a *favour*, yet he was blessed with the sight of it, and that as became him, he *kissed* and embrac'd it with great *veneration*; which by the way seems to me a little strange, that it should be accounted an *honour* and a kindness done to the *Martyrs*, to *adore* that which was the *instrument* of their torment: Might they not by the same reason as well worship their *executioners*, and pay a religious respect to the ashes of those, who drag'd them to the stake, tore off their flesh, and put them to death with all imaginable pain and torture.

III. The **Wheele.** This was a *round* Engine, to which the body of the condemned person being bound, was not only extreamly distended, but *whirl'd* about with the most violent distortion; the pain whereof was unconceivable, especially as used towards the Primitive Christians, the Wheel to which they were bound naked being sometimes full of *iron pricks*, sometimes a board full of sharp-pointed iron pricks being plac'd under it, so that every time the body of the Martyr came to it, they *rak'd* off the flesh with inexpressible

preſſible torment. Thus were ſerv'd Part 2.
thoſe three Martyrs, *Fælix* the Preſbyter, *Fortunatus* and *Achilleus* the Deacons at *Valentia* in *France*, and hundreds more in other places. *Martyr. Rom. ad diem April. 23. p. 249.*

IV. **Burning.** This was done ſometimes by ſtaking them down to a pile of wood, and ſetting it on fire; thus ſuffered *Julianus* and others in the Perſecution at *Alexandria*; ſometimes by laying them to roſt at a ſlow gentle fire, that they might dye with the greater torment; otherwhiles they were hung up either by the neck, hands or feet, and a fire made under them, either to *burn* or *choak* them; or burning torches held to ſeveral parts of their *naked* bodies; ſometimes they were placed in an *iron chair*, or laid upon an *iron grate*, which was either made *red hot*, or had a fire continually burning under it: of all which ways of execution, and ſome other near akin to them, were it not too tedious I could eaſily give abundant inſtances. This was accounted one of the *prime* ways of *capital* puniſhments, and none were adjudged to it but the greateſt *Villains*, the *meaneſt* and vileſt perſons. *Euſeb. H. Eccl. lib. 6. c. 4. p. 238.* *L. 28. Præfat. & §. 11 ff. de pœnis.*

Part 2. V. **Throwing to wild Beasts.** This was a punishment very common amongst the *Romans*, to condemn a man to fight for his life with the most savage beasts, *Bears*, *Leopards*, *Lions*, &c. and was usually the portion of the *vilest* and most despicable offenders; under which notion the *Gentiles* looking upon the *Christians* did most commonly condemn them to this kind of death; a thing so familiar, that it became in a manner *proverbial*, *Christianos ad Leones*, away with the *Christians* to the *Lions:* and that they might be devoured with the more ease, they were many times *tied* down to a *stake*; sometimes cloath'd in *beasts-skins*, the more eagerly to *provoke* the rage and fury of the wild beasts against them.

Lib. 3. §. 5. *ff. lib.* 48. *Tit.* 8. *ad leg. Corn. de Sicar. & ven.*

Tert. Apol. c. 40.

VI. **Condemning to the Mines.** To this the *Romans* adjudg'd their *slaves*, and the most infamous malefactors; and to this too the Christians were often sent: what their *treatment* was in those places, besides their continual toyle and drudgery, *Cyprian* lets us know in a letter to *Nemesian* and the rest that labour'd in the Mines, *viz.* that they were cruelly *beaten* with clubs, *bound* with chains, forc'd to *lye* upon the hard, cold,

Epist 77. *p.* 155.

cold, damp ground, conflicted with *hunger*, *nakedneſs*, the *deformity* of their heads *half ſhaved* after the manner of ſlaves, and forc'd to live in the midſt of filth and naſtineſs; beſides which they were wont to be *mark'd* and branded in the face, to have their *right eye* pull'd out, and their *left foot* diſabled by cutting the *nerves* and ſinews of it; not to ſay, that being once under this condemnation, all their *eſtate* was forfeit to the publick treaſury, and themſelves for ever reduc'd into the condition of *ſlaves*. Theſe were ſome of the more uſual ways of puniſhment amongſt the *Romans*, though exercis'd towards the Chriſtians in their utmoſt rigour and ſeverity. I omit to ſpeak of Chriſtians being *ſcourg'd* and whip'd even to the tiring of their executioners, eſpecially with rods called *plumbatæ* (whereof there is frequent mention in the *Theodoſian Code*) which were ſcourges made of cords or thongs with *leaden* bullets at the end of them; of their being ſton'd to death, their being beheaded, their being thruſt into ſtinking and naſty priſons, where they were ſet in a kind of ſtocks with five holes, their legs being ſtretch'd aſunder

Part 2.

Vid. lib. 8. §. 4. ff. qui Tyſt. fac. poſſunt.

Part 2. to reach from one end to the other.

We shall now consider some few of those *unusual* torments and punishments which were inflicted only upon Christians, or if upon any others, only in extraordinary cases: Such was their being *tied* to arms of trees bent by great force and strength by certain Engines, and being suddainly let go, did in a moment tear the Martyr in pieces, in which way many were put to death in the persecution at *Thebais*. Sometimes they were clad with *coats* of paper, linnen, or such like, dawb'd in the inside with pitch and brimstone, which being set on fire, they were burnt alive. Otherwhiles they were shut into the belly of a *brazen* Bull, and a fire being kindled under it, were consumed with a torment beyond imagination. Sometimes they were put into a great Pot or *Caldron* full of *boyling* pitch, oyl, lead, or wax mixed together; or had these fatal liquors by holes made on purpose pour'd into their *bowels*. Some of them were *hung* up by one or both hands, with stones of great weight tied to their feet to augment their sufferings; others were *anointed* all over their bodies with honey, and at mid-day fastned

Euseb. H. Eccl. lib. 8. & 9. p. 300.

ned to the top of a pole, that they might be a prey to flies, wasps, and such little cattle as might by degrees sting and torment them to death; Thus besides many others, it was with *Marcus* Bishop of *Arethusa*, a venerable old man who suffered under *Julian* the Apostate; after infinite other tortures they dawb'd him over with honey and jellies, and in a basket fastned to the top of a pole, expos'd him to the *hottest* beams of the Sun, and to the fury of such little *Insects* as would be sure to prey upon him. Sometimes they were put into a *rotten* ship, which being turn'd out to sea was set on *fire*; thus they serv'd an Orthodox *Presbyter* under *Valens* the *Arrian* Emperour; the same which *Socrates* reports of fourscore pious and devout men, who by the same Emperours command were thrust into a ship, which being brought into open Sea, was presently fir'd, that so by this means they might also want the honour of a burial. And indeed the rage and cruelty of the Gentiles did not only reach the Christians while *alive*, but extend to them after *death*, denying them (what has been otherwise granted amongst the most *barba-*

Part 2.

Nazianz. Orat. 1. in Jul. p. 89.

Id. Orat. 20. p. 416. lib. 4. c. 16. p. 227.

rous

Part 2. *rous* people) the conveniency of burial, exposing them to the ravage and fierceness of *dogs* and beasts of prey, a thing which we told the Primitive Christians reckon'd as not the least aggravation of their sufferings. Nay, where they had been quietly buried, they were not suffered many times (as *Tertullian* complains) to enjoy the *Asylum* of the grave, but were plucked out, rent and torn in pieces.

Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 4. c. 1. 165. & de Martyr. Pal. c. 9. p. 334.

Apol. c. 37. p. 38.

But to what purpose is it any longer to insist upon these things; sooner may a man tell the *stars*, than reckon up all those methods of misery and suffering which the Christians endured. *Eusebius*, who himself was a sad spectatour of some of the later persecutions, professes to give over the account, as a thing beyond all possibility of expression; the manner of their sufferings, and the persons that suffered being hard, nay impossible to be reckoned up: The truth is (as he there observes, and *Cyprian* plainly tells *Demetrian* of it) their enemies did little else but set their wits upon the tenters to find out the most *exquisite* methods of torture and punishment; they were not content with those old ways of torment which

Lib. 8. c. 12. p. 307.

Cypr. ad Demetr. p. 200.

which their forefathers had brought in, but by an ingenious cruelty dayly invented new, striving to excel one another in this piece of hellish art, and accounting those the wittiest persons that could invent the bittereſt and most barbarous engins of execution; and in this they improved so much, that *Ulpian*, *Master of Records* to *Alexander Severus* the Emperour, and the great *Oracle* of those Times for Law, writing several Books *de Officio Proconsulis* (many parcels whereof are yet extant in the body of the *Civil* Law) in the *seventh* Book collected together the several bloody *Edicts* which the Emperours had put out against the *Christians*, that he might shew by what ways and methods they ought to be punished and destroyed, as *Lactantius* tells us. But this Book as to what concern'd Christians is not now extant, the zeal and piety of the first Christian Emperours having banished all Books of that nature out of the World, as appears by a Law of the Emperour *Theodosius*, where he commands the Writings of *Porphyry*, and all others that had written against the *Christian Religion* to be burned: The reason why

Part 2.

De justit. lib. 5. c. 11. p. 491.

L. 3. C. de Sum. Trinit. sect. 1.

Part 2. why we have no more Books of the Heathens concerning the Chriſtians extant at this day.

Having given this brief *ſpecimen* of ſome few of thoſe grievous torments to which the Primitive Chriſtians were expoſed (they that would have more muſt read the *Martyrologies* of the Church, or ſuch as have purpoſely written on this ſubject) we come next to conſider what was their *behaviour* and *carriage* under them; this we ſhall find to have been moſt *ſedate* and *calm*, moſt conſtant and reſolute; they neither *fainted* nor *fretted*, neither railed at their enemies, nor ſunk under their hands, but bore up under the heavieſt torments, under the bittereſt reproaches with a meekneſs and patience that was invincible, and ſuch as every way became the mild and yet generous ſpirit of the Goſpel: So *Juſtin Martyr* tells the *Jew*; We patiently bear (*ſays he*) all the miſchiefs which are brought upon us either by men or devils, even to the extremities of death and torments, praying for thoſe that thus treat us, that they may find mercy, not deſiring to hurt or revenge our ſelves upon any that injures us, according

Dial. cum Tryph p. 236.

cording as our great *Law-giver* has commanded us: Thus *Eusebius* reporting the hard usage which the Christians met with during the times of persecution, tells us that they were betrayed and butchered by their own friends and brethren; but they as couragious Champions of the true Religion, accustomed to prefer an honourable *death* in defence of the truth before *life* it self, little regarded the cruel usage they met with in it: but rather as became true Souldiers of God, *armed* with patience, they laughed at all methods of execution; fire and sword, and the piercings of nayls, wild beasts, and the bottom of the sea, cutting and burning of limbs, putting out eys, and mutilation of the whole body, hunger, and digging in Mines, chains and fetters; all which for the great love that they had to their *Lord* and *Master* they accounted *sweeter* than any happiness or pleasure whatsoever: Nay the very *women* in this case were as couragious as the *men*, many of whom undergoing the same conflicts, reaped the same rewards of their constancy and vertue. But this will more distinctly appear in a few particular cases. Part 2. *Orat. de laudib. Constant. c. 7. p. 622.*

First,

Part 2. *First*, When ever they were *sought* for in order to their being condemned and executed, they cared not to make use of *opportunities* to escape. *Polycarp* at his apprehension refused to fly, though going but into the next house might have sav'd his life. *Epist. ad Mosen & Max. Ep.* 15. p. 28. *Cyprian* writing to the Confessours, commends them that when they were oft desired (I suppose he means by their *Gentile*-friends and relations) to go out of prison, they chose rather to abide there still, than to make their own escape; telling them they had made as many confessions, as they had had opportunities to be gone, and had rejected them: Though 'tis true he himself withdrew from *Carthage* when the Officers were sent to take him and carry him to *Utica*, yet he did it (as he tells his people) by the advice of some friends but for this reason, that when he did suffer, he might suffer at *Carthage* whereof he was Bishop, and that those truths which he had preach'd to them in his life, he might *seal* before them with his blood; a thing he earnestly and dayly begg'd of God, and which was granted to him afterwards. *Epist.* 83. *p.* 161. And if they did not run away from suffering

ring, much leſs did they *oppoſe* it, and make tumults and parties to defend themſelves; no, they were led as *Lambs to the ſlaughter, and as ſheep before the ſhearers is dumb; ſo opened not they their mouth; but committed their cauſe to him that judges righteouſly*, and who has ſaid, *vengeance is mine, and I will repay it.* None of us (ſays *Cyprian* to the Governour) when apprehended makes reſiſtance, nor (though our party be large and numerous) revenges himſelf for that unjuſt violence, that you offer to us: we patiently acquieſce in the aſſurance of a future vengeance; the *innocent* truckle under the *unrighteous*; the *guiltleſs* quietly ſubmit to *pains* and tortures; knowing for certain that what-ever we now ſuffer ſhall not remain unpuniſhed, and that the greater the injury that is done us in theſe perſecutions we endure, the more juſt and heavy will be that vengeance that will follow it: never was any wicked attempt made againſt Chriſtians, but a divine *vengeance* was ſoon at the heels of it. But though they thus reſolutely ſtood to't, when the honour of their Religion lay at ſtake, yet it muſt not be denied that in ſome caſes they

Part 2.

Ad Demetrian. p. 202.

Part 2. they held it lawful and convenient to *fly* in times of perſecution. *Tertullian* indeed in a Book purpoſely written on this ſubject maintains it to be ſimply and abſolutely unlawful for Chriſtians to fly at ſuch a time; an aſſertion which with all the ſubtilties of his wit, and the flouriſhes of his *African* eloquence he endeavours to render fair and plauſible. But beſides the ſtrictneſs and rigid ſeverity of the man at all times, this Book was compoſed after his complying with the Sect of the *Montaniſts*, whoſe peculiar humour it was to out-do the *Orthodox* by overſtraining the auſterities of Religion, as appears not only in this, but in the caſe of *marriages*, *faſts*, *pennances*, and ſuch like. Otherwiſe before his eſpouſing thoſe opinions he ſeems elſewhere to ſpeak more favourably of ſhunning perſecution. But whatever he thought in the caſe, 'tis certain the generality of the *Fathers* were of another mind, that Chriſtians might and ought to uſe prudence in this affair, and at ſometimes withdraw to avoid the ſtorm when it was a coming, eſpecially in theſe two Caſes.

Lib. de fug. in perſecut.

De patient. c. 13. p. 147.

I. When perſons were of more than ordinary

ordinary *use* and eminency, the saving Part 2.
of whom might be of great advantage to the Church. Thus S. *Paul* was let down the wall in a *basket*, when the Governonr of *Damascus* sought his life. Thus *Cyprian* withdrew from *Carthage*, and lay hid for two years together, during which time he gave secret orders for governing of the Church. Thus *Athanasius*, when *Syrianus* and his Souldiers broke into the Church to apprehend him, was by the universal cry both of Clergy and people perswaded and in a manner forced to retire and save himself, in which retirement he continued so long, that the *Arrians* charg'd him with fear and cowardise, insomuch that for his own vindication he was forced to write an *Apology* for himself, wherein he learnedly and eloquently discourses the whole affair, justifying himself from the instances of the Old Testament of *Jacob*, *Moses*, *David*, *Elias*, from the example of *Christ* himself and his *Apostles*, from the plain and positive allowance of the Gospel, *when they persecute you in one City, flee into another*, and that *when they should see the abomination of desolation standing in the holy*

Athan. Apol. de fuga sua Tom. 1. p. 545.

Part 2. *place* (*i. e.* the miseries that were to come upon *Jerusalem* by the *Roman* Army) *they should fly unto the mountains, and if upon the house top, or in the field, not turn back to fetch any thing that was left behind*; that 'twas necessary for the Apostles to shun the storm, because they were the instruments immediately deputed to propagate and convey the Gospel to the World; that they were herein imitated by the Primitive Saints and Martyrs, *who wandred about in deserts and mountains and in den and caves of the earth*, being equally careful to avoid the two extreams of *rashness* and *cowardise*, they would neither *thrust* themselves upon danger, nor basely *run* from death, when call'd to it, like wise Physicians reserving themselves for the use of those that needed their assistance. All which and a great deal more he rationally urges in that *Apology*.

II. Another case wherein they accounted it lawful for persons to retire under persecutions was, when being but *new* Converts and as yet *weak* in the faith, they look'd upon them as not likely to bear the shock and brunt of the persecution; in this case they thought

thought it better for them to *withdraw* for the present, than to put them under a temptation of being drawn back to Paganism and Idolatry. Thus when *Gregory* Bishop of *Neocæsaria* saw the *Decian* persecution grow extream hot and violent, considering the frailty and infirmity of humane nature, and how few would be able to bear up under those fierce conflicts that must be undergone for the sake of Religion, perswaded his Church a little to decline that dreadful and terrible storm, telling them 'twas a great deal better to *save* their souls by flying, than by abiding those furious trials to run the hazard of *falling* from the faith: and that his counsel might make the deeper impression upon them, and he might convince them that in thus doing there was no danger or prejudice to their souls, he resolved to shew them the way by his own *example*, and himself first retiring out of the reach of danger, retreated to the mountainous parts there-abouts that were freest from the rage and malice of the enemy. Nor was this any *impeachment* of their zeal and readiness for suffering, but only a prudent gaining a little respite for

Part 2.

Nyssen. Orat de vit. Greg. Thaumat. p. 1001. tom. 2.

Part 2. a time, that they might ſuffer with greater advantage afterwards. They did not deſire to ſave their heads, when the honour of their Religion call'd for it, nor ever by indirect means ſcrew'd themſelves out of danger, when once engaged in it, though they did ſometimes prudently prevent it, reſerving themſelves for a more convenient ſeaſon. Thus *Cyprian* withdrew a little, not out of fear of ſuffering, but a deſire to prevent his being put to death in an *obſcure* place (which his enemies had deſigned) being deſirous his Martyrdom ſhould happen in that place, where he ſo long liv'd, and ſo publickly preached the Chriſtian faith.

Secondly, They were ſo far from declining ſuffering, and being terrified with thoſe miſeries which they ſaw others undergo, that they freely and in great multitudes *offered* themſelves to the rage and fury of their enemies; embracing death as the greateſt *honour* that could be done them; they ſtrove (as *Sulpitius Severus* obſerves, ſpeaking of the ninth perſecution) which ſhould ruſh firſt upon thoſe glorious conflicts; men in thoſe days (as he adds)

Sac. Hiſt. lib. 2. p. 143.

adds) much more greedily seeking *Martyrdom* in the cause of *Christ*, than in after-times they did for *Bishopricks* and the preferments of the Church. *Lucian* who certainly had very little love to Christians, yet gives this account of them: The miserable wretches (says he, οἱ κακοδαίμονες) do verily persuade them, *i. e.* those of their own party, that they shall surely be *immortal* and live for ever; upon which account they *despise* death, and many of them voluntarily offer themselves to it. Indeed they did ambitiously contend who should be *first* crown'd with Martyrdom, and that in such multitudes, that their enemies knew not what to do with them, their very persecutors grew *weary* of their bloody offices. *Tiberianus* the President of *Palestine* in his relation to the Emperour *Trajan* (recorded by *Joannes Malela*, mentioned also by *Suidas*) gives this account of his proceedings against them; I am quite *tir'd* out in punishing and destroying the *Galileans* (call'd here by the name of Christians) according to your commands; and yet they *cease not* to offer themselves to be slain: Nay, though I have laboured

Part 2.

De mort. Peregr. Tom 2. p. 763.

Apud Usser. Appen. Ignat. p. 9. ex Jo. Malel. Chron. lib. 11. vide Annot. in Ep. ad Philad. not. 82. In voc. Τεσσαρὸς.

Part 2. both by fair means and threatnings to make them *conceal* themselves from being known to be Christians, yet can I not *stave* them off from persecution. So little regard had they to sufferings, nay so impatient were they till they were in the midst of flames. This made *Arrius Antoninus* the Proconsul of *Asia*, when at first he severely persecuted the Christians, whereupon all the Christians in that City like an *Army* voluntarily presented themselves before his Tribunal, to be surpriz'd with wonder, and causing only some few of them to be executed, he cried out to the rest, *O unhappy people, if you have a mind to die, have you not halters, and precipices enough to end your lives with, but you must come hither for an execution?* so fast did they flock to the place of torment, faster than *droves* of beasts that are driven to the shambles: They even long'd to be in the arms of suffering. *Ignatius* though then in his journey to *Rome* in order to his execution, yet by the way as he went could not but vent his passionate desire of it: O that I might come to those *wild beasts*, that are prepar'd for me; I heartily *wish* that I may presently meet with them;

Tertul. ad Scap. c. 4. p. 71.

Euseb. H. E. lib. 3. c. 36. p. 107.

I

I would invite and encourage them *ſpeedily* to devour me, and not be afraid to ſet upon me as they have been to others; nay ſhould they refuſe it, I would even *force* them to it: I am concern'd for nothing either *ſeen* or *unſeen* more than to enjoy *Jeſus Chriſt*: Let *fire* and the *croſs*, and the rage of *wild beaſts*; the breaking of *bones*, *diſtortion* of members, *bruiſing* of the whole body, yea all the puniſhments which the *devil* can invent, come upon me, ſo as I may but *enjoy Chriſt*. They even envied the Martyrdom of others, and mourned that any went before, while they were left behind. When *Laurentius* the Deacon eſpied *Sixtus* the Biſhop of *Rome* going to his Martyrdom, he burſt into tears, and paſſionately call'd out, Whither O my *Father* art thou going without thy *Son?* Whither ſo faſt O holy *Biſhop* without thy *Deacon?* Never didſt thou uſe to offer ſpiritual *ſacrifice* without thy *Miniſter* to attend thee; what have I done that might diſpleaſe thee? Haſt thou found me *degenerous* and fearful? Make trial at leaſt, whether thou haſt choſen a fit Miniſter to wait upon thee. To this and more to the ſame import,

Ambr. offic. lib. 1. c. 42. Tom. 1. p. 26.

Part 2.

Part 2. the good Bishop replied, Mistake not *my Son*, I do not *leave* thee nor *forsake* thee: Greater tryals belong to *thee*; I like a weak old man receive only the first skirmishes of the battle, but thou being youthful and valiant hast a more glorious triumph over the enemy *reserv'd* for thee: Cease to weep, thy turn will be presently, for within *three days* thou shalt follow me. So pious a contention was there between these good men, which of them should first suffer for the name of Christ. 'Tis memorable what we find concerning *Origen* though then but a *youth*, that when a great persecution was raised at *Alexandria*, wherein many suffered, he was so eagerly inflamed with a desire of Martyrdom (especially after his Father had been seized upon and cast into prison) that he expos'd himself to all dangers, and courted torments to come upon him; and had certainly suffered, if his Mother after all other intreaties and perswasions to no purpose, had not stoln away his *cloths* by night, and for meer shame forced him to stay at home.

Euseb. H. Eccl. lib. 6. c. 2. p. 202.

To these I shall add but one Example of the weaker Sex. When *Valens* the

the *Arrian* Emperour (who perſecuted the *Orthodox* with as much fury and bitterneſs as any of the Heathen Emperours) came to *Edeſſa*, and found there great numbers of them daily meeting in their publick aſſemblies, he ſeverely check'd the Governour, and commanded him by all means to rout and ruine them. The Governour though of another perſwaſion, yet out of common compaſſion gave them *private* notice of the Emperours commands, hoping they would forbear. But they not at all terrified with the news, met the next morning in greater numbers, which the Governour underſtanding went to the place of their aſſembly; as he was going, a woman in a careleſs dreſs leading a little child in her hand ruſh'd through the Governours *Guard*, who commanding her to be brought before him, asked her why ſhe made ſo much *haſt*? That I may the *ſooner* come (*ſaid ſhe*) to the place where the people of the *Catholick* Church are met together; Knows thou not (*ſaid he*) that the *Governour* will be there to day, and *kill* all whom he finds there? I know it well (*answered the woman*) and therefore make ſo much Part 2. *Sozom. H. Eccl. lib. 6. c. 18. p. 660.*

Part 2. much haſt, leſt I come *too late*, and be depriv'd of the *Crown* of Martyrdom. And being asked, why ſhe carried her *little Son* along with her, ſhe anſwered, That he alſo may *partake* of the common ſufferings, and ſhare in the ſame rewards. The *Governour* admiring the courage of the woman, turn'd back to the *Palace*, and diſſwaded the Emperour from his cruel reſolution, as what was neither *honourable* in it ſelf, nor would *conduce* to his purpoſes and deſigns.

Thirdly, When they were condemned, though it was by a moſt unjuſt ſentence, and to a moſt horrid death, they were ſo far from raging or repining, that inſtead of bitter and tart reflections, they *gave thanks* to their enemies for condemning them. A Chriſtian being condemn'd (ſays *Tertullian*) thanks his Judges, he takes it for a favour to *dye* for ſo good a cauſe. That they perſecute us (ſays *Clemens* of *Alexandria*) it is not becauſe they find us to be *wicked*, but becauſe they think we wrong the world by being Chriſtians, and by teaching and perſwading others to be ſo; as for us, they do us no harm, death does but the ſooner

Apol. c. 46. p. 36.

Strom. lib. 4. p. 505.

ſend

send us to God; if therefore we be wise, we shall thank them that are the occasion of our more speedy passage thither: And elsewhere he tells us of *S. Peter*, that seeing his *Wife* going towards Martyrdom, he exceedingly rejoyced that she was called to so great an *honour*, and that she was now returning home; encouraging and exhorting of her, and calling her by her name, bad her to be *mindful* of our *Lord*: Such (says he) was the wedlock of that blessed couple, and their perfect disposition and agreement in those things that were dearest to them. Part 2. *Lib.* 7. *p.* 736.

When *Lucius* one of the Primitive Martyrs was charged by *Urbicius* the *Roman* Prefect for being a Christian, only because he offer'd to speak in behalf of one that had very hard measure, he immediately confess'd it, and being forthwith condemned, he heartily thanked his Judge for it, that by this means he should be deliver'd from such unrighteous Governours, and be sooner sent home to his Heavenly Father. No joyfuller message could be told them, than that they must dye for the sake of Christ: Though we contend with all *Just. Mart. Apol.* 1. *p.* 43.

your

Part 2. your rage and cruelty (as *Tertullian* tells the Preſident *Scapula*) yet we freely offer our ſelves, and rejoyce more when we are condemned, than when we are abſolved and releaſed by you. In deſpite of all the malice of their enemies they accounted the *inſtruments* of their torment, the *enſigns* of their honour and their happineſs: When the Heathens reproached them for dying ſuch an infamous death as that of the *Croſs*, and in deriſion ſtyled them *Sarmenticii* and *Semaxii* for being burnt upon a little ſtake to which they were bound with *twigs*; *Tertullian* anſwers for them, *This is the habit of our victory, this the embroidered garment of our conqueſt, this the triumphant chariot wherein we ride to Heaven.* When in priſon, they looked upon their *Chains* as their *Ornaments*, as adding a beauty and a luſtre to them, with which they were adorn'd againſt the time of their ſufferings, as the bride is with fringes of gold and variegated ornaments againſt the day of her eſpouſals. For this reaſon *Babylas* the Martyr commanded that the *Chains* which he had worn in priſon ſhould be *buried* with him, to ſhew that thoſe things

Ad Scap. c. 1. p. 68.

Apol. c. 50. p. 39.

Euſeb. H. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 1. p. 160. C.

Chryſoſt. l. de S. Babyl. tom. 1. p. 669.

things which seem most ignominious, Part 2.
are for the sake of Christ most splendid and honourable; imitating therein the great *Apostle*, who was so far from being ashamed of, that he took pleasure in *Bonds*, *Chains*, *Reproaches*, *Persecutions*, *Distresses for Christs sake*, professing to *Glory in nothing but the Cross of Christ*.

Fourthly, When ever they were actually under the bittereſt torments, they never discovered the least sign of a *furious* or *impatient* mind, but bore up with a quietness and composure which no sufferings could overcome. *Cyprian* exhorting the Martyrs to courage and constanty, tells them this of those that had gone before them, that in the hottest conflict they never stirred, but maintained their ground with a *free* confession, an *unshaken* mind, a *divine* courage, destitute indeed of *external* weapons, but armed with the *shield* of *Faith*; in torments they stood *stronger* than their tormentors; their bruised and mangled limbs proved too hard for the instruments wherewith their flesh was rak'd and pull'd from them; the blows though never so oft repeated could not conquer their impregnable

Epist. 8. p. 19.

Part 2. pregnable Faith, although they did not only slice and teare off the flesh, but rake into their very bowels; and let out blood enough to *extinguish* the flames of persecution, and to *allay* the heats of the everlasting fire. And in another place speaking of the persecution under *Decius* at *Rome*, he tells us that the Adversary did with an horrible violence break in upon the *Camp* of *Christ*, but was repulsed with a strength as great as that wherewith he came upon them: that then he craftily attempted the more rude and weak, and subtilly endeavoured to set upon them singly, hoping the easilier to circumvent them; but that he found them like a *well-compacted* army, sober and vigilant, and prepared for battel; that they could *dye*, but could not be *overcome*; yea therefore *unconquerable* because *not afraid* to dye; that they did not resist those that rose up against them, being ready not to kill them that assaulted them, but to lay down their own lives and to lose their blood, that they might make the more hast to get out of a cruel and malicious world. Indeed so admirable was their patience and readiness to dye, that their very

Ad Cornel. Epist. 57. p. 91.

enemies

enemies ſtood amaz'd at it. When *Simeon* the ſecond Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, and of our *Saviours* kindred according to the fleſh, had by the command of *Atticus* the Governour of *Syria* been tortur'd with all the arts of cruelty for many days together, he bore it with ſuch courage, that the *Proconſul* himſelf, and all that were preſent greatly wondred that a man of *an hundred and twenty years* of age ſhould be able to undergo ſo many miſeries and torments. Of the Martyrs that ſuffered together with *S. Polycarp*, the Church of *Smyrna* gives this account, That all that were preſent were aſtoniſhed when they ſaw them whipp'd till the cords made way to the *inmoſt* veins and arteries, till the *bowels* and the moſt hidden parts of the body appeared. They were rak'd with ſhells of fiſhes, laid all along upon ſharp-pointed ſtakes driven into the ground, exerciſed with all ſorts of torments, and at laſt thrown to be devoured of wild beaſts; all which they bore with a mighty patience and conſtancy. Nay, as we find it in the firſt part of that *Epiſtle* (contracted by *Euſebius*, but publiſhed at large by Biſhop *Uſher*) ſo great

Part 2.

Euſeb. lib. 3. c. 32. p. 104.

Id. lib. 4. c. 15. p. 129.

Append. Ignatian. Part. 2. p. 14.

Part 2. pregnable Faith, although they did not only slice and teare off the flesh, but rake into their very bowels; and let out blood enough to *extinguish* the flames of persecution, and to *allay* the heats of the everlasting fire. And in another place speaking of the persecution under *Decius* at *Rome*, he tells us that the Adversary did with an horrible violence break in upon the *Camp* of *Christ*, but was repulsed with a strength as great as that wherewith he came upon them: that then he craftily attempted the more rude and weak, and subtilly endeavoured to set upon them singly, hoping the easilier to circumvent them; but that he found them like a *well-compacted* army, sober and vigilant, and prepared for battel; that they could *dye*, but could not be *overcome*; yea therefore *unconquerable* because *not afraid* to dye; that they did not resist those that rose up against them, being ready not to kill them that assaulted them, but to lay down their own lives and to lose their blood, that they might make the more hast to get out of a cruel and malicious world. Indeed so admirable was their patience and readiness to dye, that their very

Ad Cornel. Epist. 57. p. 91.

enemies

enemies stood amaz'd at it. When *Simeon* the second Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and of our *Saviour's* kindred according to the flesh, had by the command of *Atticus* the Governour of *Syria* been tortur'd with all the arts of cruelty for many days together, he bore it with such courage, that the *Proconsul* himself, and all that were present greatly wondred that a man of *an hundred and twenty years* of age should be able to undergo so many miseries and torments. Of the Martyrs that suffered together with *S. Polycarp*, the Church of *Smyrna* gives this account, That all that were present were astonished when they saw them whipp'd till the cords made way to the *inmost* veins and arteries, till the *bowels* and the most hidden parts of the body appeared. They were rak'd with shells of fishes, laid all along upon sharp-pointed stakes driven into the ground, exercised with all sorts of torments, and at last thrown to be devoured of wild beasts; all which they bore with a mighty patience and constancy. Nay, as we find it in the first part of that *Epistle* (contracted by *Eusebius*, but published at large by Bishop *Usher*) so great

Part 2.

Euseb. lib. 3. c. 32. p. 104.

Id. lib. 4. c. 15. p. 129.

Append. Ignatian. Part. 2. p. 14.

Part 2. great was their patience and magnanimity, that in all these sufferings not any of them gave a *sigh* or a *groan*: The holy Martyrs of Christ (*says the Epistle*) evidently shewing us, that during this sad hour of suffering they were *strangers* to their own bodies, or rather that our *Lord* himself stood by them and familiarly conversed with them, and that being partaker of his *Grace* they made light of these *temporal* torments, and by one short hour delivered themselves from *eternal* miseries: The fire which their tormentors put to them seemed to them but *cool* and *little*, while they had it in their thoughts to avoid the everlasting and unextinguishable *flames* of another world; their eyes being fixed upon those rewards which are prepared for them *that endure to the end*, such *as neither ear hath heard, nor eye hath seen, nor hath it entred into the heart of man*, but which were shewn to them by our *Lord*, as being now ready to go off from mortality, and to enter upon the *state* of *Angels*.

Encom. in 40 Martyr. append. ad oper. Greg. Thaum. p. 85.

Thus reason'd those forty Martyrs in *S. Basil*, that suffered at *Sebastia* in *Armenia* in the Reign of *Licinius*, when the Governour to contrive a new me-

thod

thod of Torment, had commanded Part 2.
them to ſtand *naked* all night in cold froſty weather (which in thoſe more *Northerly* Countries is extream ſharp and bitter, it being then the depth of winter, and the *North* wind blowing very fierce) in a *pond* of water; they firſt gave thanks to God that they put off their *cloaths* and their *ſins* together, and then comforted one another by ballancing their *preſent* hardſhips with their *future* hopes; Is the weather *ſharp*? (*ſaid they*) but *Paradiſe* is *comfortable* and delightful; Is the *froſt* cold and bitter? the *reſt* that remains is *ſweet* and pleaſant; let us but hold out a *little*, and *Abrahams* boſome will refreſh us; we ſhall change this *one* night for an *eternal* age of happineſs; let our *feet glow* with very *cold*, ſo as they may for ever rejoyce and triumph with Angels; let our *hands ſink* down, ſo as we may have liberty to *lift* them up to God. How many of our fellow-ſouldiers have loſt their lives to keep faith to their *temporal* Prince? And ſhould we be unfaithful to the true *King* of Heaven? How many have *juſtly* died for their crimes and villanies? And ſhall we refuſe it in the cauſe of *righteouſneſs*

Part 2. and Religion? 'Tis but the *flesh* that suffers, let us not spare it; since we must die, let us *die* that we may *live*: Thus generously did they bear up under this uncomfortable state; their ardent desires of Heaven from within, extinguishing all sense of cold and hardship from without. Nay, when a little before their Commander had set upon them both with threatnings and promises, assuring them, that if
Ibid. p. 81. they would but *deny Christ*, they should make their own terms for riches and honour; they told him, that he laid his *snares* at a wrong door; that he could not *give* them, what he endeavoured to *take* from them; nor could they close with his offers, without being infinitely losers by the bargain; that 'twas to no purpose to profer a *little* of the world to them, who despised the *whole* of it; that all these visible advantages were nothing to what they had in hope and expectation; all the beauty and glory of Heaven and Earth not being comparable to that state of blessedness which is the *portion* of the righteous; the one being *short-liv'd* and transitory, the other *permanent* and perpetual; that they were ambitious of

of no *gift*, but the Crown of Righte- Part 2.
ousness, not sought after any other *Glory* but what was *Heavenly*; that they *feared* no torments, but those of *Hell*, and that fire that was truly terrible; as for those punishments they inflicted, they accounted them but as the *blows* of children; and the ill usage that their bodies met with, the longer 'twas endured, the more way it made for a *brighter* crown. Such was the temper, such the support of these Christian Souldiers, these *true Champions* of the Christian Faith.

Indeed this consideration was one of the greatest Cordials that kept up their spirits under the saddest sufferings, that they were *assured* of a reward in Heaven: Amongst us (*says Cyprian*) there flourishes strength of *Hope*, firmness of *Faith*, a mind *erect* amongst the ruines of a tottering age, an immoveable *vertue*, a *patience* serene and chearful, and a soul always *secure* and certain of its *God*. As for want or danger, what are these to Christians, to the servants of God, whom *Paradise* invites, and the favour and plenty of the *heavenly* Kingdom expects and waits for? They are always glad, and rejoyce in God, and *Ad Demetrian. p. 202.*

Part. 2. resolutely bear the evils and miseries of the world, while they look for the rewards and prosperities of another life.

Præparat. Evang. lib. 1. c. 4. p. 13. The great *Philosophers* (as *Eusebius* observes) as much as they talk'd of *immortality*, yet by their carriage they shewed that they looked upon it but as a trifling and childish *fable*; whereas (*says he*) amongst us even *girles* and *children*, the most unlearned and (measured by the eye) the meanest and most despicable persons, being assisted by the help and strength of our blessed *Saviour*, do rather by their *actions* than their *words* demonstrate and make good this doctrine of the immortality of the Soul. This *Julian* confesses of the *Christians*, though according to his custome he gives them bad words, calls them *Atheists* and irreligious persons, that being acted by some evil spirits they perswade themselves, that death is by all means to be desired, and that they shall immediately *fly* to Heaven, assoon as their souls are freed from the *fetters* of the body. Hence it was, that in those times Christians were wont to sing *Hymns* and *Psalms* at the *Funerals* of the dead, to signifie that they had attain'd their *Rest*, the end of their labours,

Fragm. Ep. Oper. Part. 1. p. 528.

hours, the retribution of their troubles, the reward and the crown of their conflicts and sufferings, as *Chrysostome* tells us; part of which *Psalms* he elsewhere tells us were, *Return unto thy rest O my soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee*; and, *I will fear no evil, because thou art with me*; and again, *thou art my refuge from the trouble that compasses me about.* For the same reason, as being a sign of *joy* and chearfulness, he there tells us that they carried *lights* burning before the corps: by all which he tells us they signified, that they carried forth *Christians* as *Champions* to the grave, glorifying God, and giving thanks to him that he had *crowned* the deceased person, that he had delivered him from his labours, that he had taken him to himself, and set him beyond the reach of storms and fears.

Part 2. *Hom. 51. de SS. Barm. & Prosd. tom. 1. p. 563. Hom. 4. ad Hebr. p. 1785. Psalm 115. Psal. 23. 4.* *ib. p. 1784.*

But to return; There was scarce any one instance of Religion wherein Primitive Christianity did more openly *approve* it self to the world, and more evidently *insult* over *Paganism*, than the generous courage and patience of its professors: By this they commended both the *Truth* and *Excellency* of their Religion, and conquer'd their

Part 2. very enemies into an embracing of it. Hear how *Lactantius* pleads the argument and triumphs in the goodness of his cause: By reason (*says he*) of our strange and wonderful courage and strength *new additions* are made to us; for when the people see men torn in pieces with infinite variety of torments, and yet maintain a patience *unconquerable*, and able to tire out its tormentors; they begin to think (what the truth is) that the *consent* of so many, and the *perseverance* of dying persons cannot be in vain; nor that *patience* it self, were it not from God, could hold out under such racks and tortures: *Thieves*, and men of a *robust* body are not able to bear such tearing in pieces; they groan and cry out, and are overcome with pain, because not endued with a divine patience; but our very *children* and *women* (to say nothing of our *men*) do with silence *conquer* their tormentors, nor can the hottest fire force the least groan from them. Let the *Romans* go now and boast of their *Mutius* and *Regulus*, of the one for delivering himself up to his enemy to be put to *death*, because he was ashamed to *live* a prisoner; of the other for burning

De justin. lib. 5. c. 13. p. 425.

burning his hand at the command of the enemy to save his life. Behold, with us the *weaker* Sex, and the most *tender* age can suffer all parts of their body to be torn and burnt, not out of *necessity*, because they might not escape if they would, but out of *choice*, because they believe in God. This is that true Vertue, which Philosophers indeed vainly *boast* of, but never really *possessed*. This and more to the same purpose that eloquent *Apologist* there urges to the great honour of his Religion. By the force of such arguments *Justin Martyr* confesses that he was brought over from being a *Platonick* Philosopher to be a *Christian*: for when he saw the *Christians* whom he had so often heard accused and traduced, undauntedly going to *dye*, and embracing the most terrible executions that were prepared for them; *I thought with my self* (says he) *that it was not possible such persons should wallow in vice and luxury; it being the interest of all wicked and voluptuous persons to shun death, to dissemble with Princes and Magistrates, and to do any thing to save their lives.* Part 2. *Apol.* 1. *p.* 50.

This certainly could not but be a

Part 2. huge satisfaction to all prudent and considerate men that the Christians were guided by *better* Principles than ordinary, and that they were fully assured that *theirs* was the *true* Religion, and that they taught nothing but what they firmly believed to be true. For to maintain such patience and constancy even unto death (*says Origen*, speaking of the *Apostles* propagating the doctrine of *Christ*) is not the *fashion* of those who feign things of their own heads; but is a manifest argument to all *candid* and ingenuous Readers, that they knew what they writ to be true, when they so chearfully endured so many and such grievous things only for the sake of the Son of God, in whom they had believed. No dangers could affright them, no threatnings or torments could baffle them out of their profession: Therefore when *Celsus* accused the *Christians* for a *fearful* sort of men, and such as lov'd their Carcasses well; *Origen* answers, No such matter, *We can as chearfully lay down our bodies to suffer for Religion, as the hardiest Philosopher of you all can put off his coat.* And indeed the Gospel did mightily prosper and triumph in the midst of these

Adv. Cels. lib. 2. p. 65.

Lib. 7. p. 357.

these dreadful sufferings; men rationally concluding that there must be something more than *humane* in that doctrine, for which so many thus deeply ventur'd. So *Tertullian* tells *Scapula* in the conclusion of his Book; *It's to no purpose to think this Sect will fail, which you will see to be the more built up, the faster 'tis pull'd down; for who is there, that beholding such eminent patience, cannot but have some scruples started in his mind, and be desirous to enquire into the cause of it, and when he once knows the Truth, be himself moved to close with it and embrace it.* Therefore *Julian* the *Apostate* out of a cursed policy refused many times openly to put *Christians* to death, partly because he envied them the *honour* of being *Martyrs*, partly because he saw that they were like *new mown grass*, the *oftner* it was cut down, the *thicker* it sprang up again. Part 2. c. 1. p. 72. Naz. in Jul. Invect. 1. p. 72

I shall add no more concerning this subject, but the *testimony* which the very *enemies* of Christians gave them in this case. *Julian* the *Emperour* (whom we so lately mention'd, and who fought against *Christians* with their own *weapons*, making use of those

Scriptures

Part 2. *Scriptures* which he had ſtudied while he was amongſt them) when the Chriſtians complained to him of thoſe oppreſſions and injuries which the Governours of *Provinces* laid upon them, made light of it, and diſmiſſed them with this virulent ſarcaſm, *Your Chriſt* (ſays he) *has given you a Law, that when you ſuffer unjuſtly, you ſhould bear it reſolutely, and when oppreſſed and injured ſhould not anſwer again:* And ſo certainly they did, undergoing all kinds of miſeries, and death it ſelf with ſo *unconcerned* a mind, that elſewhere he cenſures them for this very reaſon to be acted by the *Spirit* of the *Devil.* Hence *Porphyry* in a Book that he wrote againſt the *Chriſtians*, calls their Religion τὸ βάρβαρον τόλμημα, *a piece of barbarous boldneſs*; *Barbarous*, becauſe ſo different from the way of worſhip amongſt the *Greeks*, with whom every thing was barbarous that agreed not with their principles and inſtitutions: *Boldneſs*, becauſe the *Chriſtians* ſhewed ſuch an undaunted courage in bearing miſeries and torments, chuſing to dye a thouſand times rather than to deny *Chriſt*, and ſacrifice to the gods. For this reaſon the Heathen in *M. Fœlix* ſtyles

Niceph. Eccl. Hiſt. lib. 10. c. 24. tom. 2. p. 53.

Frag. Epiſt. loc. ſupr. laudat.

Euſeb. H. Eccl. lib. 6. c. 19. p. 220.

M. Fœl. p. 7

ſtyles the *Chriſtians* men of an *undone*, *furious*, and *deſperate party*; reſpecting their fearleſs and reſolute carriage under ſufferings, for ſo he explains himſelf preſently after; *Is it not a ſtrange folly, and an incredible boldneſs? they deſpiſe torments that are preſent, and yet fear thoſe that are future and uncertain; and while they fear to dye after death, in the mean time they are not afraid to dye: ſo ſillily do they flatter themſelves, and cajole their fears by a deceitful hope of ſome unknown comforts that ſhall ariſe to them.* This *Arrian* in his Collection of *Epictetus* his Diſſertations confeſſes to be true of thoſe, whom according to *Julians* ſtyle he calls the *Galileans*, that they underwent torments and death with a mighty courage, but which he makes to be the effect only of *uſe* and a cuſtomary bearing ſufferings. The Emperour *M. Antoninus* confeſſes alſo the matter of fact, that the *Chriſtians* did thus readily and reſolutely dye, but aſcribes it not to judgement and a rational conſideration, but to *meer ſtubbornneſs* and *obſtinacy*. And in an *Epiſtle* (if that Epiſtle as now extant be his) that he wrote to the *Common Council* of *Aſia* in favour of the *Chriſtians*, whom his

Part 2.

Lib. 4. c. 7. p. 500.

Τὸ εἰς ἰωλόν. lib. 11. §. 3. p. 106.

Apud Euſ. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 4. c. 13. p. 121.

Part 2. his Officers there did grievously vex and oppress, gives them this testimony, that they could have no greater kindness done them than to be called in question, and that they had much rather be *put* to *death* for their Religion, than to have their *lives* spared to them: by which means they became conquerours, chusing rather to part with their lives, than to do what you impose upon them. Let me advise you (*says he*) who are ready to despond with every *earth-quake* that happens to you, to compare your selves with them; they in all their dangers are securely *confident* in their God; while you at such a time *neglect* the gods, and have little or no regard, either to other rites, or to the worship of that immortal deity, but banish the *Christians* that worship him, and persecute them unto death. So forcibly did the Majesty of Truth extort a confession from its greatest enemies.

The End of the Second Part.

Primitive

Primitive Chriſtianity;

OR, THE RELIGION OF THE Ancient Chriſtians In the firſt Ages of the Goſpel.

PART III.

Of their Religion as reſpecting other men.

CHAP. I.

Of their Juſtice and Honeſty.

Chriſtian Religion admirably provides for moral righteouſneſs. Do as you would be done by, the great Law of Chriſt

Part 3. *Christ: This rule highly priz'd by* Severus *the Emperour. The first Christians accounted honesty and an upright carriage a main part of their Religion. Their candor and simplicity in their words: Abhorring lies and mental reservations, though it might save their lives. Their veracity such, as no need to be put to their oaths. Some few of the Fathers against all swearing: Allowed by the greatest part in weighty Cases: That they took oaths proved from* Athanasius, *and their taking the* Sacramentum militare: *The form of the oath out of* Vegetius: *The same expresly affirmed of the more antient Christians by* Tertullian. *Why refusing to swear by the Emperours genius. Oaths wont to be taken at the holy Sacrament, upon the Communion Table, or the holy* Gospels. *Some against all oaths only to prevent a possibility of perjury. Bearing false witness condemned and strictly punished by the antient Church. A famous Instance of divine vengeance pursuing three false accusers. Christians careful in the conduct of their actions. Their integrity in matters of distributive Justice: In commutative*

tive Juſtice avoiding all fraud and over-reaching. S. Auguſtin's *inſtance.* Novatus *forced to fly to avoid the puniſhment of cheating and ſacriledge. The Chriſtians unjuſtly accuſed of Sacriledge by the Heathens: The occaſion of it.* Pliny's *teſtimony of the Honeſty of Chriſtians. Theft and rapine ſeverely condemned. Chriſtians for doing all the good they could. Their care to right and relieve the oppreſſed. The* Gentiles *charged Chriſtians with murder and eating mans-fleſh. A brief repreſentation of the ſeveral anſwers returned to it by the Chriſtian Apologiſts. The true riſe of the charge found to ſpring from the barbarous and inhumane practices of the* Gnoſticks *mentioned by* Irenæus *and* Epiphanius. Part 3.

HAving given ſome account of the Religion of the antient *Chriſtians*, both as it reſpected their *piety* towards *God*, and their ſober and vertuous *carriage* towards *themſelves*; we come in the laſt place to conſider it in reference to their *carriage* towards *others*, which the *Apoſtle* deſcribes under the title of *righteouſneſs*

Part 3. *teousneſs*, under which he comprehends all that duty and reſpect wherein we ſtand *obliged* to others; whereof we ſhall conſider theſe following inſtances: their *juſtice* and *integrity* in matters of commerce and traffick; their mutual *love* and *charity* to one another; their *unity* and *peaceableneſs*; and their *ſubmiſſion* and ſubjection to *civil* Government.

I begin with the firſt, their **juſt** and **upright carriage** in their *outward* dealings; one great deſign of the *Chriſtian* Law is to eſtabliſh and ratifie that great *principle* which is one of the prime and *fundamental* Laws of nature, *to hurt no man*, and *to render to every one his due*, to teach us to carry our ſelves as becomes us in our relations towards men. Next to our duty towards *God*, the Goſpel obliges us to be *righteous* to *men*, ſincere and upright in all our dealings, *not going beyond*, *nor defrauding one another in any matter*, *to put away lying*, *and to ſpeak truth to each other as fellow-members* of the ſame Chriſtian brother-hood and ſociety: It ſettles that *golden* rule as the fundamental Law of all *juſt* and equitable commerce, *that all things whatſoever*

whatsoever we would that men should do to us, we should even do so to them, this being the sum of the Law and the Prophets; than which as no rule could have been more *equitable* in it self, so none could possibly have been contrived more *short* and plain, and more accommodate to the common cases of humane life. Upon the account of these, and such like excellent precepts, *Alexander Severus* the *Roman* Emperour had so great an honour for our *Saviour*, that he was resolved to build a *Temple* to him, and to receive him into the number of their *gods*; and though he was over-rul'd in this by some who having consulted the Oracle, told him, that if it were done, all men would become *Christians*, and the Temples of the gods would be left naked and empty; yet in his most private *Chappel* he had the *Image* of *Christ* amongst those of many Noble *Heroes* and *deified* persons, to whom he pay'd religious adoration every Morning; and particularly for this precept, *that what we would not have done to our selves, we should not do to others* (which his own *Historian* confesses he learnt either from the *Jews* or *Christians*; but most certainly from

Part 3.

Lamprid. in vit. Alex. Sev. c. 43. p. 568.

Ibid. c. 29. p. 540.

Ibid. c. 51. p. 577.

Part 3. from the *Christians*, in whose *mouths* it so often was, and in whose *Gospel* it was so plainly written) he so highly valued it, that in all publick punishments he caused it to be *proclaim'd* by a common *Crier*; nay, was so hugely fond on't, that he caused it to be written upon the *walls* of his Palace, and upon all his publick *Buildings*, that if possible, every *room* in his Court, and every place in the City might be a silent *Chancery* and Court of Equity.

So vast a reverence had the very *enemies* of Christianity for the *Gospel* upon this account, that it so admirably provides for the advance of civil righteousness and justice amongst men; which however it has been sleighted by some even amongst *Christians* under the notion of *moral* Principles, yet without it all other *Religion is but vain*, it being a strange piece of folly for any to dream of being *godly* without being *honest*, or to think of being a *disciple* of the first, while a man is an *enemy* to the second Table. Sure I am, the *Christians* of old look'd upon honesty and an upright carriage as a considerable part of their Religion; and, that to speak *truth*, to keep their *words*,

to

to perform *oaths* and *promiſes*, to act ſincerely in all their *dealings*, was as ſacred and as dear to them as their lives and beings. *Speech* being the great inſtrument of mutual commerce and traffick, ſhall be the firſt inſtance of their integrity; They ever uſed the greateſt candor and ſimplicity in expreſſing their mind to one another, not pretending what was *falſe*, nor concealing what was *true*; *yea, yea*, and *nay, nay*, was the uſual meaſure of their tranſactions; a *lie* they abhorr'd as *bad* in all, as *monſtrous* in a *Chriſtian*, as directly oppoſite to that *truth*, to which they had conſigned and delivered up themſelves in baptiſm, and therefore would not tell one, though it were to *ſave* their lives. When the Heathens charged them with folly and madneſs that they would ſo reſolutely ſuffer, when a parcel of fair words might make way for them to eſcape, telling them 'twas but doing or ſaying as they were bid; and that they might ſecure their conſciences by *mental* reſervations; *Tertullian* lets them know that they rejected the motion with the higheſt ſcorn, as the plain *artifice* and invention of the *devil*. When we are Part 3.

Tertul Apol. c. 27. f. 26.

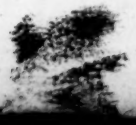
Part 2. most severely examined (says *Justin Martyr*) we never *deny* our selves, counting it *impious* in any thing to dissemble or deny the truth; as we know the contrary is acceptable unto God: and though we could (as they told the *Emperours*) when questioned, *evade* or *deny* it, yet we scorn to *live* upon any terms, by which we must be forced to maintain our lives by *lies* and *falshood*.

Apol. 1. *p.* 43.

Ib. Apol. 2. *p.* 57.

This honest and ingenuous simplicity they practised to that exactness and accuracy, that for a *Christian* to be put to his *oath* was accounted a disparagement to his *fidelity* and truth. So *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us; he that approves himself and is tried (*says he*) in *this* [*i. e.* the *Christian*] way of piety and Religion, is far from being forward either to *lie* or *swear*: For an oath is a determinative assertion, with a calling God to witness for the truth of it: But how shall any one that is faithful, so far render himself *unfaithful* or unworthy of belief, as to *need* an oath, and not rather make the course of his life a *testimony* to him as firm and positive as an *oath*, and demonstrate the truth of his assertion by the

Stromat. lib. 7. *p.* 728.



the constant and immutable tenor of his words and actions. It's enough therefore (as he presently after adds) for every good man either by way of affirmation or denyal to give this assurance, ἀληθῶς λέγω, *I speak truly*; to satisfie any that apprehend not the certainty of what he says; for towards *those that are without* he ought to have such a conversation as is most worthy of belief, so as no oath should be required of him; and towards himself and those of his party to preserve such an even and equitable temper of mind, as is a piece of voluntary Justice. This and much more he discourses to the same purpose. Part 3.

For this and some other reasons, but especially from some mis-taken places of *Scripture*, where 'tis said, *swear not at all*; some of the Antient Fathers held all taking of an oath *unlawful*; but besides that those few that did, were not herein *constant* to themselves, the far greatest part were of another mind, and understood the prohibition either of swearing by *creatures* (which was the case of the *Jews*, and which our *Saviour* and S. *James* principally aim at) or of *light*, *rash*,

Part 3. and *false* swearing. For otherwise that the Primitive *Christians* did not think it unlawful to *take* an *oath* in serious and necessary cases, is most evident. *Athanasius* speaking of his *accusers*, whom he desired might be put to their oath, tells us, that the best way to attest the truth of what is spoken is to call God to witness; and this (*says he*) is the form of swearing which *we Christians* are wont to use: And indeed though we had no other argument, it would be plain enough from hence, that they served in the Wars, and frequently bore *arms* even under the Heathen Emperours, which 'tis evident they could not do without first taking a *military* oath to be true to their General, and to *die* rather than *desert* their station: And this, *Vegetius* an *Heathen Authour*, though living in the time of the younger *Valentinian*, expressly reports of them, that when their names were entred upon the *Muster-roll*, they were wont to take an oath, the particular form whereof he there sets down, *viz. That they swore by God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit, and the Majesty of the Emperour, which next to God is to be lov'd and honour'd by mankind:*

Apolog. ad Constantium Imper. Tom. 1. p. 34.

De re militas. lib. 1. c. 5. p. 33.

This

This agrees very well with that account which *Tertullian* had long before given of the *Christians*, when being accus'd by their enemies of high Treason, amongst other reasons, because they refused to *swear* by their *Emperours*; he answers, that though they would not swear by the Emperours *genius*, their *genii* or tutelar deities being nothing else but *devils*, yet they did swear by the Emperours *safety*, a thing more *august* and venerable than all the *genii* in the World: In the *Emperours* they own God's *Institution* and Authority, & would therefore have that to be safe, which he had appointed, and accordingly accounted it the matter of a *lawful* oath; but for the *dæmons* or *genii* (says he) we use *adjurare*, to adjure them, so as to *cast* them out of men; *non dejerare*, not to swear by them, & thereby confer the honour of *Divinity* upon them. For the same reason they denied to swear by the *fortune* of the *Emperor*, because amongst the Heathens she was accounted a *deity*, and honour'd with religious worship. Part 3. *Apol. c.* 32. *p.* 28.

Thus we see that they refused not to ensure and ratifie their faith by the formality as an oath, to which that they might add the greater reverence

Part 2. and solemnity, they were wont many time to take it at the receiving of the *holy Sacrament*, as we find in the case of *Novatus* and his followers; for taking their hands wherein they held the Sacramental Elements within his own, he caused them to swear by the *body* and *blood* of our *Lord Jesus Christ* that they would not desert him. But because this may be thought to have been only the artifice of an *Heretick* to bind his followers the faster to his party; S. *Chrysostom* (though himself no good friend to taking oaths) sufficiently assures us 'twas customary to come into the Church and to swear upon the *Communion Table*, taking the Book of the *Holy Gospels* into their hands. The same appears from the case proposed to *Gregory Nazianzen* by *Theodore* Bishop of *Tyana*, and by the instance of *Evagrius*, *Nazianzen's Arch-deacon* at *Constantinople*, who had it reveal'd to him in a Vision that some persons lay in wait for him, and that therefore he must presenly be gone; the person that revealed it assuring him he would knock off those fetters that were upon him, if he would swear to him upon the *Holy Gospels* that he would immediately

Euseb. H. Eccl. lib. 6. c. 43. p. 245.

Ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. 15. Tom. 1. p. 178, 179.

Epist. 219. p. 908.

Sozom. H. Eccl. lib. 6. c. 30. p. 686. vid. Annot. Hen. Vales. p. 145. col. 2.

mediately depart, which was accordingly done. And as their caution was great in *taking* of an oath, so their care was no less in *making* of it good; they knew that in this solemn transaction they did in a more peculiar manner call in God as a witness of what they said, and a revenger in case of falshood and the violation of it; this made them greatly afraid of *perjury*, which they looked upon as a sin of a deeper and more than ordinary dye; and one reason I conceive why some of the Antients were against all swearing (and *Clemens Alexandrinus* confirms me in it) was, because they would not come so much as within the danger or *possibility* of perjury. Such as have sworn rashly, or in unlawful cases, S. *Basil* earnestly exhorts to repentance, and that they would not persist in an obstinate defence of their impiety; and for such as are guilty of perjury he appointed that they should be suspended and banished the Communion for *eleven years* together. Part 3.

ὁ μὲν ἓν μηδὶ ὀμνύς, πολλῷ γε μᾶλλον ἐπιορκήσει. loc. supr. laudat. *Epist. Canon. ad Amphil. can. 29. p. 31. tom. 3. Can. 64. p. 36.*

The like severity, though not altogether so great, they used in case of *bearing false witness*: If any Christian falsly accused another before the Church

Part 3. Church (for in thoſe days they allowed no appeals to Heathen Tribunals) he was to be puniſhed, *i. e.* ſuſpended the Communion, the only puniſhment the Church in thoſe days could inflict, according to the nature of the crime which he charged upon the other, according to the decree of the *Illiberine* Councel; if he made good his charge, yet if he had concealed it a conſiderable time before he revealed it, he was to be ſuſpended for *two years*; the reaſon probably being, becauſe by this delay the criminal perſon had had opportunity to *infect* others, by propagating his vitious example to them. But that they might not ſet the door open and give encouragement to buſie and malicious tempers, they ordain'd, that although the perſon ſhould be really guilty of the crimes he was charged with, yet if the accuſer did not ſufficiently prove it *in conventu Clericorum* before the *Eccleſiaſtical Senate*, he ſhould be puniſhed with a *five years* ſuſpenſion; and becauſe then they had an honour and veneration for *Miniſters* above all other men, they ordain'd, that whoſoever ſhould falſly accuſe a *Clergy-man*, a *Biſhop*, *Presbyter*, or

Conc. Illiber. Can. 74. p. 79. *ubi vid.. not. Albaſp.*

Ibid. Can. 75. p. 81.

or *Deacon*, with any crime, which he could not make good, ſhould not be received into Communion even at the *hour of death*. The truth is, they were exceeding tender of any mans reputation, readier to add to it, than to detract from it, or to faſten any undue imputation upon him. S. *Baſil* commending *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, has this of him amongſt the reſt; Out of regard *(ſays he)* to the threatning of our *Lord* he durſt never *call his Brother fool:* no anger, wrath or bitterneſs proceeded out of his mouth: *ſlandering* he hated as a quality greatly oppoſite to a ſtate of ſalvation: *pride* and *envy* were ſtrangers to that innocent and guileleſs ſoul: He never *approached the altar, till firſt reconciled to his brother:* All *falſe* and artificial ſpeeches, and ſuch as are cunningly contrived for the ſlander and detraction of others, he greatly abominated; well knowing, that every lie is the *ſpawn* and iſſue of the *devil*, and that God has threatned *to deſtroy all thoſe that ſpeak lies*. And ſo indeed he oftentimes does even in this world, not reſpiting ſuch perſons to the *tribunals* of the other world; whereof we meet with this

Part 3.

Ad Cleric. Eccleſ. Neocaſar. Ep. 63. p. 98. tom. 3.

Part 3. this memorable example. *Narcissus* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, a man of admirable piety and holiness of life, shined with so glorious a lustre in the place where he lived, that the brightness of his conversation offended the sore eyes of other men: Three more especially not able to bear the eminent strictness of his life, and being themselves guilty of very great enormities, thought to *escape* themselves by *accusing* him. Whereupon they laid a very hainous crime to his charge, and to beget the greater credit with them that heard it, solemnly ratified it with their oaths: The first imprecating upon himself that he might be *burnt*, if it were not true; the second, that his body might be *consumed* by some noysom and pestilent *disease*; the third, that he might lose his *sight*. The good man though notwithstanding all this he stood right in the thoughts of all true Christians, who knew his life to be too clear and unblameable to be *sullied* with the breath of such vile fellows, yet not being able to bear it, withdrew himself to an *Eremits* life in the wilderness. But the *restless eye* of the divine vengeance quickly overtook these *perjured* wretches,

Euseb. H. Eccl. lib. 6. c. 9. p. 210.

wretches, and caught them in their *own* snares; the first by a little spark that casually, and whereof no account could be given, happened in his house, was in the night *himself*, *family*, and *house* universally *burnt* to ashes; the second was from head to foot overrun and consumed by such a *disease* as he had wished upon himself; the third that *saw* all this, and feared the righteous and inevitable vengeance of God upon himself, *confessed* the whole plot and combination, and testified his repentance with so deep a sorrow, that with the multitude of his tears he lost his *sight*. Part 3.

We have seen how exact the Christians were about their *words*, that they should be harmless and inoffensive, and the true conveyances of their minds; nor were they less careful about the conduct of their *actions*, whether of *distributive* or *commutative* Justice. For matters of *distributive* Justice, so far as it concerns a fair hearing, and impartial determining of tryals and causes, rewarding the good, and punishing the bad, they had little opportunity to shew themselves; Christians in the first Ages being seldom invested

Part 3. vested with any external *Authority* and power, till the Empire submitted to *Christianity*, and then we find them executing their places with the most unbyassed uprightness and integrity. S. *Basil* speaking of an excellent person (though he names him not) who was sent to be Governour of *Neocæsaria* where he was Bishop, but presently undermin'd and outed by the accusations of some that could not bear his free and impartial carriage, and his temper so extreamly opposite to flattery, says this of him, that he was a most rigid *observer* of Justice, courteous and easie of access to them that were *oppressed*, but his presence severe and terrible to the *injurious* and transgressours of the Law: He was the same to *rich* and *poor*, equally at leisure for both; of all men he exceedingly abhorr'd taking bribes, never favouring any beyond the Equity of his Cause; and which was above all, he was one that designed to reduce *Christianity* to its antient dignity and perfection. The same *Nazianzen* reports of his own *father*; and reckons it one of the excellent properties for which he accounted him a *Christian* even

Ad Sophron. Magist. Epist. 332. *p.* 329.

In Laud. Patr. Orat. 19. *p.* 290.

even before he embraced *Christianity*, Part 3.
that he ſo exactly obſerved juſtice himſelf, and ſo impartially adminiſtred it to others; that though he went through very great offices in the ſtate, yet he made not one farthing's *addition* to his own revenue, though he ſaw ſome before his eyes, who with *Briareus* his hands laid hold upon the publick treaſures, and therewith filled their own Coffers.

In matters of *Commutative* juſtice, and ordinary tranſaction between man and man they obſerved the rule, *to deal with others, as they would be dealt with themſelves*; they took no advantage of any mans *ignorance* or unskilfulneſs, ſo as to graſp that commodity at a far *under-rate*, of which they knew the *ſeller* did not underſtand the true price and value, and that if he did, he would not part with it at ſuch a price. To this purpoſe *S. Auguſtine* tells us he knew a man (probably he means *himſelf*, though out of modeſty he conceals it) who having a *Book* offered him to be ſold by one that underſtood not the *price* of it, at a very ſmall under-rate, took the Book, but gave him the *full* price according to its juſt rate

De Trinit. lib. 13. c. 3. tom. 3. col. 407.

and

Part 3. and value, which was a great deal more than the seller asked for it. And the truth is, in such cases advantage cannot honestly be taken of mens weakness or mistake, because no man if he understood the true worth and value of his commodity, can be supposed willing to part with it at a too-under rate. And if they were thus far from craftily *over-reaching*, much more from secretly or openly *invading* of what was anothers right and property; no cheating or couzenage, no acts of dishonesty and deceit were allowed or practised amongst them; or if any such were discovered they were immediately protested against by the whole Society of Christians. *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome*, giving *Cyprian* an account of *Novatus* the Heretick and his companions, tells him of one *Nicostratus*, that not only cheated his *Lady* and *Patroness*, whose estate and revenues he managed, but carried away a great part of the treasures of the Church (whereof he was *Chief Deacon*) the portion and maintenance of poor Widows and Orphans (a crime, says he, reserved for perpetual punishment, *i. e.* for the judgement of God in the other world, being too

Epist. 48. p. 62. vid. Resp. Cyprian. Ep. sequent.

too great for any in this) whereupon Part 3.
he was forced to fly from *Rome* into *Africk* to avoid the shame and prosecution of his rapine and sacriledge; though when he came there, they did not only *refuse* to admit him into communion, but openly *exposed* the wickedness of him and his confederates to the abhorrency of all men: by which may appear the falsity of that charge of *Sacriledge* which the Gentiles brought against the Christians; to which, though certainly it primarily respected their declared enmity against the *Idolatrous Temples* and worship of the Heathens; yet *Tertullian* answers; You look upon us (*says he*) as *Sacrilegious* persons, and yet never found any of us guilty of *wrong* or *injury*, of any *rapine* and *violence*, much less of *sacriledge* and *impiety*: No, they are your *own* party, that swear by, and worship your gods, and yet *rob* their *temples*; that are no *Christians*, and yet are found to be *sacrilegious*: And afterwards, he adds this further vindication of them; As for us (*says he*) we deny not any *pledge* that's left with us, we *adulterate* no mans marriage-bed, we piously *educate* and train up Orphans, and relieve the

Ad Scap. c. 2. p. 69.

Ibid. c. 4. p. 71.

Part 3. necessities of the indigent, and *render no man evil for evil*: If there be any that dissemble our Religion, let them look to't, we *disown* them for being of our party; why should we be worse thought of for others faults? or why should a Christian answer for any thing but what concerns his own Religion, which no man in so long a time has prov'd to be cruel or incestuous? Nay, when we are burnt, and most severely dealt with, 'tis for the greatest *Innocency, Honesty, Justice, Modesty*, for our *Truth* and *Faithfulness*, and our *Piety* to the Living God. And that these were not a parcel of good words which the *Christians* spoke in their own behalf, will appear, if we consider the testimony which *Pliny* (who was far from being partial to them) gives of them; for being commanded by the Emperour *Trajan* to give him an account of the *Christians*, he tells him, that after the strictest examination which he could make even of those that had renounc'd *Christianity*, he found this to be the *greatest fault that they were guilty of, that they used harmlesly to meet to worship Christ, and at those meetings to bind themselves by a Sacrament* [or an oath] *that*

Lib. 10. Ep. 97. p. 290.

that they would not do any wickedness, that they might be firmlier obliged not to commit thefts, robberies, adulteries, not to falsify their words, or to deny any thing wherewith they were intrusted, when it was required of them. Part 3.

Gregory Bishop of *Neocæsarea* in a *Canonical* Epistle, which he wrote to rectifie several disorders and irregularities which had happened amongst the *Christians* of those parts by reason of the inroads and devastations which the *Goths* and other *barbarous* nations had made amongst them, does amongst other things especially take notice, how *uncomely* in it self, how *unsuitable* to Christians it is to *covet*, and to grasp what is *another* mans; how inhumane, to *spoyle* the oppressed; and to enrich our selves by the blood and ruines of our miserable brethren: And whereas some might be apt to plead, they did not *steal*, but only *take* up what they found; He tells them, this excuse would not serve the turn, that whatever they had found of their *Neighbours*, nay, though it were their *enemies*, they were bound to *restore* it, much more to their *brethren*, who were fellow-sufferers with them in the same condition. *Can.* 2, 3, 4; *p.* 119, 120.

Part 3. condition. Others thought it warrant enough, to keep what they found, though belonging to others, having been such deep *losers themselves*: but this he tells them is to *justifie* one wickedness with another, and because the *Goths* had been enemies to them, they would become *Goths* and *Barbarians* unto others. Nor did they only keep themselves from doing *injuries* to others, they were ready to do them all the *right*, all the *kindness* that lay in their power, especially to vindicate the poor and helpless from the power and violence of those that were too mighty for them. Therefore when the Fathers of the *Synod* of *Sardis* took notice that some Bishops used to go to *Court* upon by-errands and private designs of their own, they ordain'd, that no *Bishop* should go to Court, unless either immediately summoned by the *Emperours* letters, or that their assistance was required to help the *oppressed*, to right *Widows* and *Orphans*, and to rescue them from the unjust grasps of potent and mercilesse oppressors; and that in these cases they should be ready (either by *themselves*, or some *deputed* by them) to present their petitions, to plead their

Can. 7, 8.

cause,

cause, and to lend them all the assistance they were able to afford. Part 3.

I should not in this place have taken any notice how far the ancient Christians were from *murder*, and offering violence to any mans *life*, but that it was a common *charge* brought against them by the *Gentiles*, that they used to *kill* and *devour* an Infant at their *Christian* meetings, especially when any was first to be initiated into their assemblies; the story is thus dressed up by the acute Heathen in *M. Fœlix*; *An Infant being covered all over with meal, (the better to deceive the unwary) is set before him that is to be initiated and taken in; he ignorant of what it really is, is appointed to cut it up, which he effectually does by many secret and mortal wounds; whereupon they greedily lick up the blood, and ravenously tear off and snatch away the several parts of it; and with this sacrifice their confederacy and combination is made, and by the conscience of so great a villany they are mutually obliged to silence: Such sacred rites as these being more horrid and barbarous, than the highest sacriledges in the world.* To this monstrous and horrid charge, the *Christians* returned

Min. Fœl. p. 8. vid. Tertull. Apol. c. 9. p. 9.

Part 3. these answers; That they appeal'd to the
Tert. Apol. c. 9. p. 8. M. Fal. p. 25. common *Faith* of mankind, whether they could really believe them to be guilty of these things, so *abhorrent* to all the principles of Humane Nature, and to the Christians *known* Principles and Practices in all other things; that they should measure the *Christians* by themselves, and if they themselves could not be guilty of such things, they should not suspect it by the *Christians*, who were endued with the same Principles of *humanity* with other men; that they were so far from being friends to *murder* or man-slaughter, that they held it unlawful to be present at the *Gladiatory sports*, where mens lives were so wantonly sacrificed to the pleasure and curiosity of the people; that they accounted it murder for any woman by evil arts to procure *abortion*, to stifle the *embryo*, to *kill* a child in a manner *before* it be alive, it being much at one to *hinder* life, as to *take* it away, to kill a man, or destroy what *would be* one, seeing he truly destroys the *fruit* that kills it in the *seed*; that it was not likely they should delight in *mans* blood, who never tasted *any* blood at all, *abstaining from things strangled*

Athenag. leg. pro Christian. p. 38. B. M. Fal. ibid.

Athenag. ib. M. Fal. ib. Tert. ib. p. 9.

M. Fal. p. 26. Tertull. ibid. p. 10.

strangled and from blood: And that the very *Heathens* themselves confessed this, when amongst the several *arts* they used to discover whether men were *Christians*, they used to offer them *bladders* full of *blood*, knowing that they held it unlawful to *taste* any; and therefore it was mightily improbable they should thirst after *humane* blood, who abhorred even the blood of *beasts*: That they heartily believed the *Resurrection* of the dead, and therefore would not make themselves the *Sepulchers* of those bodies which were to *rise* again, and feed upon them, as they did upon other bodies which were to have no resurrection: that the truth was, if this charge was true of any, it was true only of the *Gentiles* themselves, amongst whom these things were daily *allowed* and *practised*: That *Saturn* one of their chief deities did not only *expose*, but *eat* his own children; to him infants in *Africk* were offered in *sacrifice* by their own parents, a custome that openly continued till the Proconsul-ship of *Tiberius*, which though he abolished it, yet it continued still in corners in *Tertullians* days: To his Son *Jupiter* they offered *humane* sacrifices Part 3. *Athenag.* *ibid.* *ibid.*

Part 3. even in *Rome* it self, and that even to the time of *M. Fœlix* as he himself testifies; which is no more than what *Porphyry* himself (after he had reckoned up in how many parts of the world *Humane* sacrifices were in use) confesses was done at *Rome* in the Feast of *Jupiter Latialis* even in his time. Many other instances of such barbarous practices are there produced by those two *Apologists*, which they urge with great advantage upon their adversaries, whom they challenged to make any such thing good against them.

Ibid.

De Abstinent. lib. 2. §. 56. p. 95.

And no sooner did discipline begin to be regularly setled, but their principles herein were every where confirmed by the *Canons* of the Church, either private or publick; the woman that industriously made her self *miscarry* was adjudged to be guilty of *murder*, and condemn'd to the same punishment, a *ten years penance*; which was adjudg'd to be the case of any that brought forth upon the way, and *exposed* her Infant. By the law of the State, made by the Emperour *Valentinian*, whosoever, whether man or woman, kill'd an *Infant* was to be subject to the same capital punishment, as if he had

Basil. Ep. Can. Con. a. p. 22. Ib. Can. 33. p. 32. Cod. Theod. lib. 9. Tit. 14. l. 1.

had kill'd an *adult* person, which may very well be understood even of *Infants* kill'd in *the womb*, the punishment whereof was formerly for the most part no more than *banishment*. He that was guilty of wilful murder was by *S. Basil's* rule to undergo a *twenty years* penance before he was admitted to the Sacrament; though by several passages in *Tertullian* it appears that *Homicides* in his time were more severely treated by the Church, for they were not only bound to a perpetual penance, but were not *absolv'd* at death. But this severity shortly after began to relax, and such persons though obliged to acts of repentance all their life, yet at death were absolved, and admitted to Communion, as is expresly provided by the decree of the *Ancyran* Councel. Part 3. Can. 56. p. 36. Can. 22.

Thus clear did the Christians all along stand from any just suspicion of that gross piece of *inhumanity* which their enemies so confidently charged upon them. As for the *rise* and occasion of this malicious charge, it was doubtless of the same growth with that of their *incestuous mixtures* (spoken of before) both springing from the abominable practices of some *filthy* Heretics,

Part 3. ticks, who sheltred themselves under the *name* of Christians, *Epiphanius* particularly reporting of the *Gnosticks*, what the *Heathens* generally charged upon the Christians; for he tells us of them, that at their meetings they were wont to take an *Infant* begotten in their *promiscuous* mixtures, and beating it in a *mortar*, to season it with *honey* and *pepper*, and some other spices and perfumes, to make it *palatable*, and then like *swine* or *dogs* to devour it; and then to conclude all with prayer; and this they accounted their *perfect pass-over*. I am not ignorant that a learned man will by no means believe that any of the ancient *Heretick*s did ever arrive to so much *barbarousness* and immanity as to be guilty of such things, and conceives them to have been *feigned* meerly out of hatred to those pestilent hereticks; but there's little reason to suspect the truth of it, *Epiphanius* assuring us, that he had the account that he gives, from the mouths of the *Gnosticks* themselves; and that many of the *women* who were deceiv'd into those abominable errours did not only discover these things to him, but that he himself in his younger years while

Haref. 26. *p.* 43. *vid. de Phryg. seu Quintilian.*

Haref. 48. *p.* 181. *de Montanistis Zon. & Balsam. in Can.* 7. *Conc. Constant.*

Defid. Huald. Not. ad Min. Fel. p. 76.

Ibid. p. 48.

while he was in *Egypt* had been assaulted by them, and by all the arts of flattery and perswasion, of wantonness and immodesty had been set upon to joyn himself to them: and certainly 'tis not imaginable that a person so venerable for learning and piety as *Epiphanius* was, should impose upon us by feigning so gross and notorious a falshood. Besides, whoever reads *Irenæus*, in whose time these heresies were most rife and predominant, and considers the account that he gives of them, which he mainly received from persons of their own party after they were returned back to the Church, will see little reason either to think any wickedness *too great* for them to boggle at, or to doubt of the truth of what he reports concerning them. Part 3.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of their admirable Love and Charity.

The excellent temper of the Christian Religion. The Gospel principally enjoyns kindness and charity. The Primitive Christians eminently of this spirit. They accounted all brethren, but Christians more especially. Their mutual love noted and recorded by their enemies. Their mighty zeal and charity for the souls of men, to recover them from vice and errour to truth and vertue. This the matter of their daily prayer, and most serious endeavours, even towards their greatest enemies, Pamphilus *his charity in bestowing Bibles freely upon the poor. Preachers maintained for converting the Gentile Phenicians to Christianity. The famous story of* S. John's *hazarding himself for the regaining a young man debauched by bad companions.* Monica's *care and sollicitude about* S. Augustin. *Some that have sold themselves for slaves, that they might convert their Heathen or Heretical Masters. Christians*

stians not shy of communicating the knowledge of their Religion. Their Charity as it respected the necessities of the outward life. This noted in several instances of charity. Their liberal providing for the poor. The bounty of particular persons. Divers instances of it. The immense charity of Epiphanius *: exemplary vengeance upon some that abused it. The poor accounted the Treasure and Ornaments of the Church : represented in the case of* Laurentius *the Deacon, and a story related by* Palladius. *Their visiting and assisting the sick in their own persons : eminently noted in the Empress* Placilla, *and the Lady* Fabiola. *The Christians care of their brethren in a great plague at* Alexandria. *Persons appointed on purpose to cure and attend the sick. The* Parabolani, *who. Their office and number. Redemption of Captives. Great sums contributed by* Cyprian *and his people for it. Church-plate sold to redeem Christians, nay, captiv'd enemies. Christians embondaging themselves to redeem others. The strange charity of* Paulinus *Bishop of* Nola, *making himself a slave to ransom a poor widows son. Their care* Part 3.

about

Part 3.

about the bodies of the dead. Decent burial very fit and desirable. A piece of piety remarkable in the Christians of those times. Their abstaining from the common custome of burning the dead as barbarous. The great cost they laid out upon their funerals, in embalming, intombing, &c. The Copiatæ, *who: What their office and order. The* Decani *or Deans in the Church of* Constantinople; *their number, and duty. Their providing fit places of sepulture. Their* Cœmiteria *or burying-places in the fields. Burying in Cities and Churches when brought in, and to whom first granted. Their* Cœmiteria *under ground. What kind of places they were. The great number and vast capacities of them. A particular account of one out of* Baronius, *discovered in his time. How the Christians were enabled to all these acts of charity. At first all in common: after, by usual contributions. The standing stock or treasury of the Church. This charity of Christians largely attested by* Julian *and* Lucian. *Their love and charity universal. Doing good to enemies. An excellency proper to Christians. This manifested in several remarkable*

markable instances. Plainly acknowledged by Julian *himself. The whole sum'd up in an elegant discourse of* Lactantius *concerning mercy and charity.* Part 3.

THat the *Christian* Religion was immediately designed to improve and perfect the principles of humane nature, appears as from many other instances of it, so especially from this, that it so strictly enjoyns, cherishes and promotes that natural *kindness* and compassion, which is one of the prime and essential inclinations of mankind; wherever the Gospel is cordially complied with, it begets such a sweet and gracious temper of mind as makes us humble, affable, courteous and charitable, ready and disposed to every *good work*, prompt to all offices of humanity and kindness, it *files* off the ruggedness of mens natures, banishes a rude, churlish and *pharisaical* temper, and infuses a more calm and treatable disposition. It commands us *to live and love as brethren, to love without hypocrisie, to have fervent charity amongst our selves, and to be kindly affectioned one towards another*: It lays the sum of our duty towards others in this, *to love our neighbour*

Part 3. *neighbour as our selves.* This our *Saviour* seems to own as his proper and peculiar law, and has ratified it with his own solemn sanction, *A new Commandment I give unto you, that you love one another, as I have loved you, that you also love one another*; and then makes this the great visible *badge* of all those who are truly Christians, *by this shall all men know that you are my Disciples, if you have love one to another.*

And so indeed it was in those first and best ages of Religion, for no sooner did the Gospel fly abroad into the *world*; but the love and charity of Christians became notorious even to a *Proverb*, the Heathens taking notice of the Christians of those times with this particular remark, *See how these Christians love one another.* They were then united in the most happy *fraternity* (a word much used by *Christians* in those dayes, and objected against them by the Heathens) they liv'd as *brethren*, and accounted themselves such not only as being sprung from one common *Parent* (for in this respect that they had Nature for their common *Mother*, they acknowledged the very *Heathens* to be *brethren*, though otherwise

Tertul. Ap. c. 39. p. 31.

Id. ibid. M. Fel. p. 26.

wise little deserving the name of *men*) but upon much higher accounts, *viz.* that they had one and the same God for their *Father*, *drank* all of the same spirit of holiness, were brought out of the same *womb* of darkness and ignorance into the same light of truth, that they were partakers of the same Faith, and co-heirs of the same hope. This *Lucian* himself confesses of them, and that it was one of the great Principles that their Master instilled into them, that they should all become *Brethren*, after once they had thrown off the Religion of the *Gentiles*, and had embraced the worship of their great *crucified* Master, and given up themselves to live according to his Laws. The truth is, so ready, intire, and constant was their kindness and familiarity, that the Heathens accused them for having *privy* marks upon their bodies, whereby they fell in love with each other at first sight: Indeed they never met, but they embraced one another with all the demonstrations of a hearty and sincere affection, saluting each other with an *holy kiss*, not only in their own houses, but at their Religious Assemblies, as a badge and bond of that Christian fel-

Part 3.

De mort. Peregrin. p. 764. tom. 2.

M. Felix. & p. 7.

Part 3. lowſhip and communion that was maintained amongſt them.

But the love and kindneſs of thoſe *Chriſtians* of old did not lie only in a ſmooth complemental carriage, or in a parcel of good words, *depart in peace, be you warm'd or fill'd*, but in the real exerciſes of charity and mercy. Now becauſe the two great objects of *Charity* are, the good of mens *ſouls*, and their outward and *bodily* welfare and happineſs, we ſhall find that the Primitive Chriſtians were highly eminent and exemplary for both theſe. The ſoul being of a much higher and nobler nature, and conſequently infinitely more precious and valuable than the body, they were accordingly infinitely careful and ſollicitous to ſave mens ſouls, *to recover them out of the ſnare of the Devil*, and the paths of ruine, by making them *Chriſtians*, and bringing them over to the *knowledge of the truth*; for this they pray'd daily and earneſtly; We Chriſtians (ſays *Cyprian* to the *Proconſul*) ſerve the one and true God that made Heaven and earth, and pray to him night and day, not only for our ſelves, but for all men, and for the ſafety of the Emperours themſelves. From this

Paſſio Cyprian. vit. ejus annexa. p. 17.

this no injuries or unkindneſſes could Part 3.
diſcourage them. *Juſtin Martyr* tells *Dial. cum Tryph. p.* the *Jew*, that they pray'd for them, and 254.
all others that unjuſtly were their enemies, that repenting of their wickedneſſes, and ceaſing to *blaſpheme Chriſt Jeſus*, who by the greatneſs of his works, the uncontroulableneſs of the miracles performed in his name, the excellency of his doctrines, and the clearneſs of the prophecies fulfilled in him, appeared to be altogether innocent and unblameable, and that rather believing in him, they might together with *Chriſtians* be ſaved by him at his ſecond glorious coming, and not be condemned by him to everlaſting flames: We pray for you (*ſays he*) that *Chriſt* *Ib. p.* 323.
would have mercy upon you, for he has taught us to *pray for our enemies*, to *love* them and be *mereiful* to them: And afterwards, when he had reckoned up all thoſe wicked and malicious artifices which the *Jews* had uſed both againſt *Chriſt* and *Chriſtians*, yet notwithſtanding all this (*ſays he*) we are ſo far from *Ib. p.* 331.
hating either you, or thoſe who at your ſuggeſtion believe theſe things of us, that we *pray* that all of you may repent, and obtain mercy from God, the gra-

Part 3. cious and compassionate Parent of the world. The *Gnosticks* were the greatest scandal that ever was to *Christianity*, and the occasion of many of those persecutions, and most of those horrible calumnies which the Heathens brought upon the Christians, and yet see how *Irenæus* treats them; We pray for them (*says he*) and beg of them not to continue in the pit which they have digged to themselves, but to depart from their sottish and idle vanities, to turn to the Church of God, that *Christ may be formed in them*, and that they may *know the only true God*, the Creatour of the world: This we beg of them, loving them to better purpose, than they think they love themselves: for our love is true and wholesome (if they will receive it) like a *sharp* plaister indeed, but it will eat away the proud flesh, take down the swelling and vanity of their minds, for which cause we will not cease by all means to apply it to them. The same *Origen* tells *Celsus*, that though both *Jews* and *Gentiles* turn'd their backs upon the doctrine of *Christ*, and charged them for being *Impostors* and deceivers, yet they would not give over thus *honestly* to deceive

Adv. Hæres. lib. 3. c. 46. p. 314.

Lib. 2. p. 110.

deceive men, to make them of looſe persons to become ſober and temperate, or to bring them on towards it; of diſhoneſt to make them righteous, of unwiſe to make them prudent, at leaſt to bring them into the way to theſe things; of fearful and timorous to render them hearty and couragious, eſpecially as oft as they are to contend for their Religion and Piety towards God. How earneſtly and paſſionately does *Cyprian* beg of the Proconſul *Demetrian* and the *Gentiles* to provide for their happineſs and ſafety, to accept of the counſels and aſſiſtance which the *Chriſtians* offered, who loved them not the worſe for all the torments and ſufferings they laid upon them; that they returned kindneſs for hatred, and by the miſeries they endured ſhewed to them the way to Heaven; that now was the time to make their peace with God, and to ſecure ſalvation; that there was *no place for repentance* on t'other ſide the grave, the *ſtations* of the other world being fix'd and unchangeable; that therefore they ſhould believe and live, that ſo they might eternally rejoyce with them, whom they did now ſo afflict and perſecute. Part 3. *Ad Demetrian. p.* 204.

Part 3. In pursuance of this design they spared neither *pains* nor *cost*, that they might instruct men in the way to Heaven. 'Tis said of *Pamphilus* the *Martyr*, that amongst other instances of his charity, he used freely and readily to bestow *Bibles* upon all that were willing to read; for which purpose he had alwayes great numbers of those holy volumes by him, that as occasion serv'd, he might distribute and bestow them: By this means mercifully furnishing those with these divine treasures, whose purses could not otherwise reach to the price of the *Scriptures*, far dearer in those dayes, than they are since *Printing* came into the world. We find *S. Chrysostome* so zealous for converting the *Gentiles* to *Christianity*, that for this very end he maintained many *Presbyters* and *Monks* in *Phœnicia* partly at his own charge, and partly by the assistance of pious and well-disposed persons, whose only work it was to *Catechise* and instruct the *Heathens* in the Principles of the *Christian* Faith; and that the business might succeed more effectually, he procured a law from the Emperor *Arcadius* (yet extant in the *Theodosian Code*) directed to *Eutychian*

Hier. adv. Ruffin. tom. 2 p. 199. ex Euseb.

Theodoret. H. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 29. p. 229.

Lib. 16. Tit. 10. de Pag. Sacrif. & Templ. 17.

Eutychian, *Prefect* of the *East*, that the Pagan *Temples* should be orderly taken down, that so they being destroyed, the whole matter of the *Gentile* superstition might be abolished. Upon the executing of which Law great mutinies were raised by the Country people, many of the *Monks* wounded, and some slain, and the rest wholly disheartned to proceed in the business, (these doubtless being those very *Monks* against whom *Libanius* so severely declaims for so mercilessly destroying the Pagan Temples:) Whereupon *Chrysostome* (who was then in banishment) writes to them to bear up with a Christian and invincible patience, encourages them resolutely to go on in so good a work; tells them that God would not be wanting to stand by them, and to reward them in this and the other life, and promises them (though his *incomes* at this time were very small) that their former pensions should be paid them, and all things necessary provided for them. And indeed with how much care and sollicitude the good mans mind was filled about this business, he sufficiently intimates in a letter written to another person whom he had employed

Part 3.

Orat. de Templis, p. 10.

Epist. 123. tom. 4. p. 756.

Ad Ruffin. Presbyt. Ep. 126. p. 763.

Part 3. ployed about this affair. Nor did they in those times regard *ease* or *safety* any more than they did cost and charges in this matter, exposing themselves to any dangers that they might do good to the souls of men.

I might easily shew that this consideration had a great influence upon the sufferings of the Primitive Martyrs, willingly running any hazards, chearfully enduring any miseries, that they might gain others to the faith, and prevent their eternal ruine. But that famous story of S. *John* the Apostle shall serve instead of many, the sum of which is this; Coming to a place near *Ephesus* in his visitation of the Churches he espied a *Youth* of a comely shape and pregnant parts, and taking hold of him delivered him to the *Bishop* of the place with this charge (which he repeated once and again) *I commend this person to thee to be looked to with all care and diligence, and that in the presence of Christ and the Church.* The Bishop undertook the charge, received the young man into his house, instructed him, and at last *baptized* him. Which being done, he thought he might remit a little of the strictness of his care; but

Euseb. H. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 23. p. 92.

but the young man making an ill use of his liberty, fell into bad company, by whose arts and snares he was seduced into ways of riot and wickedness; till despairing of all hope of pardon from God, he let loose the rains to all manner of exorbitancy, and agreeing with his confederates they combin'd themselves into a society of highway-men, and made him their *Captain*, who quickly became as far beyond the rest in fierceness and cruelty, as he was in power and authority. S. *John* upon occasion returning some while after to the same place, after he had dispatched his other business, required from the Bishop the *pledge* he had left with him; who wondring and not knowing what he meant; *I mean* (said S. *John*) *the young man, 'tis the soul of my brother that I require:* The old man with a dejected look and tears in his eyes, answered, *he's dead*; and being demanded by what kind of death, answered, *he's dead to God*; for alas! he's become a *villain*, and instead of the Church is fled with his companions to the mountains to be a thief and a robber. The Apostle renting his cloaths, and bewailing that he had so ill be-

Part 3.

trusted

Part 3. trusted his brother's soul, immediately call'd for a horse and a guide, and made haste to the Mountains; where being taken by those that stood *Sentinel*, he beg'd to be brought before their *Captain*, who stood ready arm'd some way off; but assoon as he perceived 'twas S. *John* that was coming towards him, he began to be ashamed & to run as fast as he could: The Apostle not regarding his own age and weakness followed after with all his might; and when his legs could not overtake him, he sent these passionate exclamations after him; *Why, O my Son, dost thou fly from thy aged and unarmed father? take pity of me, and fear not, there is yet hope of salvation for thee. I will undertake with Christ for thee; if need be, I will freely undergo death for thee, as our Lord did for us, and lay down my own life to ransom thine; only stay and believe me, for I am sent by Christ.* With that he stayd, and with a dejected look throwing away his Arms, he trembled, and dissolved into tears; he embraced the aged *Apostle* with all possible expressions of sorrow and lamentation, as if again *baptized* with his own tears. S. *John* assured him he had obtain'd his pardon

pardon of *Christ*, and having fasted and prayed with him and for him, and with all the arts of consolation refreshed his shattered and disconsolate mind, brought him into, and restored him to the Church. Part 3.

This story though somewhat long, I was the willinger to produce, both because so remarkable in it self, and so great a testimony of that mighty *tenderness* and compassion which they had for the souls of men; for whose sake they thought they could never *do*, never *venture* far enough. S. *Augustine* tells us what infinite pains his Mother *Monica* took about the conversion of her husband *Patricius*, how unweariedly she sought to endear her self to him, by all the arts of a meek, prudent and sober carriage, how submissively she complied with his rigorous and untoward humours, how diligently she watched the aptest times of insinuation, never leaving till at last she gained him over to the faith. Nor was her care and sollicitude less for her Son *Augustine*, who being hurried away with the lewdnesses of youth, and intangled with the impieties of the *Manichean* Heresie, was the hourly subject

Confess. lib. 9. c. 9. p. 155. tom. 1.

Part 3. ject of her prayers and tears; She plyed him with dayly counsels and intreaties, implored the help and assistances of good men, and importuned heaven for the success of all; not being able to gain any quiet to her mind, till S. *Ambrose* (with whom she had oft advised about it) sent her away with this assurance, *that it was not possible that a child of so many tears should perish.* No sooner was his conversion wrought, but her spirit was at ease, and she now desired no more. Himself tells us, that discoursing with her alone some few days before her death concerning the state of the blessed and the joys of heaven, she at last broke off with this farewel: *For my part, Son, I have now no further hopes or pleasures in this world; there was but one thing for which I desired to live, that I might see thee a Catholick Christian before I died: This my good God has abundantly blessed me with, having let me see thee despising the felicities of this life, and entred into his family and service; so that what do I make any longer her?* Nay, so great a *zeal* had they for the good of souls in those days, that many did not stick to engage themselves in *temporal* slavery for no other

Ibid. cap. 10.

other end but to deliver others from *ſpiritual* bondage. Thus *Serapion* called *Sindonites* (becauſe he never wore more than one poor Linnen garment) one of the Primitive *Aſceticks*, ſold himſelf to a *Gentile-player* that ſerved the Theatre; with whom he liv'd & underwent the meaneſt offices, till he had converted him, his wife and whole family to Chriſtianity, who upon their baptiſm reſtored him to his liberty, whereupon he freely returned them back the *mony* which he had receiv'd as the price of his ſervitude, which by mutual conſent was given to the poor. Coming afterwards to *Lacedemon* and hearing that a principal perſon of the City, a very good man otherwiſe, was infected with the *Manichean* Hereſie; one of the firſt things he did, was to inſinuate himſelf into his Family, ſelling himſelf to be his ſlave; in which condition he remained for two years together, till he had brought his Maſter and his whole Family off from that pernicious Hereſie, and reſtored them to the Church; who did not only bleſs God for it, but treated him not as a *ſervant*, but with that kindneſs and reverence that is due to a *Brother* and a *Father*.

Part 3.

Pallad. Hiſtor. Lauſ. c. 83. in vit. Serap. p. 182.

This

Part 3. This was the good spirit and *genius* of those days, they intirely studied and designed the happiness of men, were willing and desirous freely to impart the treasures of the Gospel, and wished that in that respect all mankind were as rich and happy as themselves. So far were they from that malicious imputation which *Celsus* fastned upon them, that if all men would become *Christians*, they would not admit it; to which *Origen* flatly returns the *lie*; and tells him the falseness of it might appear from this, that *Christians* as much as in them lay were not backward to propagate their doctrine through the whole world; and that some of them had peculiarly undertaken to go up and down not only in Cities, but in Towns and Villages, to bring over others to the true Religion: and that they did not this out of any designs of *gain* or interest to themselves was plain, because they often refus'd to receive *necessary* accommodations from others; or if they did, they were such only as were barely and absolutely necessary for the present turn, when as far greater liberalities have been offered to them. Nay, some

Orig. cont. Cels. lib. 3. p. 116.

some of the antient *Canons* expressly require, that no man, who has either *Heretieks* or *Infidels* in his Family, shall be admitted to the order either of *Bishop*, *Presbyter* or *Deacon*, who has not first converted those persons to the true Christian faith. Part 3. Concil. Carth. 3. Can. 18.

Having seen what kindness and charity they expressed to mens *souls*, we come next to that which respected their *bodies*, and the necessities of the outward life; this they shewed in several instances, we shall consider some of the most material. In the first place they took special care to provide for the *poor*, and such as were unable to help themselves; this *Cyprian* in his retirement gave especially in charge to the *Presbyters* and *Deacons* of his Church, that by all means they should mind the poor, and furnish them with whatever was necessary for them. *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth* testifies of the Church of *Rome* that they did not only eminently provide for their own poor, but with great liberality administer to the necessities of other Churches, plentifully relieving whatever indigent brethren came to them, or where-ever they were, though at the greatest Epist. 5. p. 13. Euseb. H. Ecc. lib. 4. c. 23. p. 145.

Part 3. greatest distance from them; and of
Homil. 67. in Matth. p. 595. the Church of *Antioch* *Chrysostom* tells us, that in his time, though the revenues of it were but small, yet besides its *Clergy*, besides *strangers*, *lepers*, and such as were in *bonds*, it dayly maintain'd above *three thousand* Widows and Maids. Indeed the bounty of those times was almost incredible. S.
Vit. ejus per Paul. Diac. p. 11, 12. *Cyprian* upon his turning Christian sold his estate to relieve the wants of others, and could not be restrained from it either by the perswasions of others, or the considerations of what he might be reduced to himself. After his entrance upon the Ministry his doors were open to all that came, from whom no Widow ever returned empty; to any that were blind, he would be their guide to direct them; them that were lame, he was ready to lend his assistance to support them; none were oppressed by might, but he was ready to defend them. *Cesarius*, S. *Basil*'s brother,
Basil. ad Sophron. Ep. 84. p. 156. tom. 3. made only this short *will* when he died, *I will that all my estate be given to the poor.* *Nazianzen* reports of his Father,
Orat. 19. p. 298. that he was so kind to the poor, that he did not only bestow the *surplusage* of his estate upon them, but even part of

of what was reserv'd for *necessary* uses; Part 3.
of his Mother, that an Ocean of wealth *Ibid.* 299.
would not have filled her unsatisfied desire of doing good, and that he had often heard her say, that if it were lawful, she could willingly have sold her *self* and *children*, to have expended the price upon the uses of the poor; and of his Sister *Gorgonia*, that she was immensely liberal, *Job-like* her gate was open to every stranger, she was *eyes* to the *blind*, *feet* to the *lame*, and a *mother* to *orphans*; her estate was as common to the poor, and as much at their need, as every ones is to himself, dispersing and scattering abroad, and according to the counsel of our *Saviour*, *laying up her treasure in heaven.*

VI. They gave not only *according to*, but *beyond* their ability; trusting to the goodness and fidelity of heaven to supply what *wanted*, which many times made the return with overplus by ways uncommon and extraordinary. *Sozomen* relates of *Epiphanius* Bishop of *Salamine* in *Cyprus*, that having spent all his own estate in pious and charitable uses, in relieving the needy, and such as were by shipwrack and the mercy of the sea cast upon the coast, *H. Eccl. lib. 7. c. 27. p. 749.*

Part 3. he freely dispensed and distributed the goods and treasures of his Church (which by the bounty of charitable persons from all parts, who thought they could not better lodge their estates than in the hands of so good a man, was very rich and wealthy) and that with so liberal a hand, that the *Steward* or Guardian of the Church finding its stock begin to grow very low, with some resentment told him of it, charging him as too profuse and open-handed; All which notwithstanding he remitted nothing of his accustomed bounty to the poor. At length all being spent, a *stranger* on a suddain comes into the Stewards lodgings, and delivers into his hand a great *purse* of *gold*, without any discovery either who 'twas that *brought* it, or who 'twas that *sent* it. And indeed so vast and universal was the charity of this good man, that it sometimes made him liable to be *imposed* upon by crafty and designing persons, whereof the *Historian* in the same place gives this remarkable instance: A couple of beggars meeting *Epiphanius*, and knowing the charitableness of his temper, to draw the greater alms from him, agreed

greed to put this trick upon him. One of Part 3.
them lies along upon the ground, feigning himself to be dead, the other, standing by him passionately bewailed the death of his companion, & his own poverty, not able to give him burial. *Epiphanius* pitied the man, perswaded him to bear his loss patiently, and not to expect that his companion should in this world rise any more, bid him take care for his burial, and withall gave him what was sufficient for it. No sooner was he gone out of sight, but the beggar comes to his companion, jogs him with his foot, and commends him for so ingeniously acting the cheat: *Rise* (said he) *and with what we have got let's be merry and jolly to day.* But alas! the *Comedy* was turned into a *tragick scene*; the man was really dead, and could not be recovered by all his cries or stirring; which his companion no sooner perceived but with all haste makes after the *Bishop*, cries and tears his hair, confesses the cheat, and begs that his companion might be restored to life; but all in vain: the Bishop bids him be content, and tells him that God would not undo what he had done. *Leaving a fair warning to men* (says the

Part 3. *Historian*) *that the great God who sees and hears all things, reckons those mockeries that are put upon his servants, as if done to himself.* But this only upon occasion of that great charity which they then upon all occasions extended to the poor: The truth is, they then looked upon the poor as the *treasure* and *ornament* of the Church, by whom as by *bills* of Exchange they returned their estates into the other world. When *Decius* the *Emperour* demanded of *Laurentius* the *Deacon* of the Church of *Rome* the Churches treasures, he promised after three days to produce them; in which time having gathered together the *blind* and the *lame*, the *infirm* and the *maim*, at the time appointed he brought them into the Palace, and when the *Emperour* asked for the *treasures* he had promised to bring with him, he shews him his company, *Behold* (said he) *these are the treasures of the Church, those eternal treasures, which are never diminished, but increase; which are dispersed to every one, and yet found in all.* This passage brings to my mind (though it more properly belongs to the next instance of *charity*) what *Palladius* relates of *Macarius*, a *Presbyter*

Act. Laurent. apud. Sur. ad diem 10. Aug. Tom. 4. vid. Ambr. Offic. lib. 2. c. 28. Tom. 1.

Hist. Laus. c. 6. p. 22.

Presbyter and Governour of the *Hospital* at *Alexandria*; There was a Virgin in that City very rich, but infinitely covetous and uncharitable: She had been oft attempted and set upon by the perswasions of good men, but in vain; at last he caught her by this piece of *pious* policy. He comes to her, and tells her that a parcel of Jewels, *Emraulds* and *Jacinths*, of inestimable value were lodg'd at his house, but which the owner was willing to part with for five hundred pieces of mony, and advises her to buy them: She catching at the offer, as hoping to gain considerably by the bargain, delivered him the mony, and intreated him to buy them for her, knowing him to be a person of great piety and integrity. But hearing nothing from him a long time after, till meeting him in the Church, she asked him what were become of the *Jewels*: He told her he had laid out the mony upon them (for he had expended it upon the uses of the *Hospital*) and desired her to come and see them, and if the purchase did not please her, she might refuse it. She readily came along with him to the Hospital, in the upper rooms whereof Part 3.

Part 3. the *women* were lodged; in the lower the *men*. He asked her which she would see first, the *Jacinths*, or the *Emraulds*; which she leaving to him, he brought her first into the upper part, where the *lame*, *blind*, and *Cripple-women* were disposed, and *see*, said he, *the Jacinths that I spoke of*: Then carrying her down into the lower rooms, he shewed her the *men* in the like condition, and told her, *These are the Emraulds that I promised, and Jewels more precious than these I think are not to be found*; *and now*, said he, *if you like not your bargain, take your mony back again.* The woman blushed, and was troubled to think, she should be hal'd to that, which she ought to have done freely for the love of God. Afterwards she heartily thanked *Macarius*, and betook her self to a more charitable and Christian course of life.

Next to this, their charity appeared in *visiting* and assisting of the *sick*; contributing to their necessities, refreshing their tired bodies, curing their wounds or sores with their own hands. The sick (says the antient Authour of the Epistle in *Justin Martyr*, if it be not *Justin* himself) are not to be neglected;

Epist. ad Zen. & Ser. tit. p. 514.

lected; nor is it enough for any to say, I have never learnt to *serve* and give attendance: For he that shall make his delicacy or tenderness unaccustomed to any hardness to be an excuse in this case, let him know it may soon be his own; and then he'l quickly discern the unreasonableness of his own judgment, when the same shall happen to him, that he himself has done to others. But there were no such nice and squeamish stomachs in the good *Christians* of those times. S. *Hierom* tells us of *Fabiola* a *Roman* Lady, a woman of considerable birth and fortunes, that she sold her estate, and dedicated the mony to the uses of the poor; she built an Hospital (and was the *first* that did so) wherein she maintained and cured the infirm and miserable, or any sick that she met withall in the streets; here was a whole *randezvouz* of Cripples, hundreds of diseases and distempers here met together, and her self at hand to attend them: sometimes carrying the diseased in her arms, or bearing them on her shoulders; sometimes washing and dressing those filthy and noysome sores, from which another would have turned

Part 3.

Epitaph. Fabiola ad Ocean. p. 199. tom. 1.

Part 3. ed his eyes with contempt and horrour; otherwhiles preparing them food, or giving them physick with her own hand. The like we read of *Placilla* the *Empress*, wife to the younger *Theodosius*, that she was wont to take all possible care of the lame or wounded, to go home to their houses, carry them all necessary conveniencies, and to attend, and assist them not by the ministery of her servants and followers, but with her own hands. She constantly visited the common *Hospitals*, attended at sick beds for their cure and recovery, tasted their broths, prepared their bread, reached them their provisions, washed their cups with her own hands, and underwent all other offices which the very meanest of the servants were to undergo. Thus also the *Historian* reports of *Deogratias* the aged Bishop of *Carthage* under the *Vandalic* persecution, that having sold all the plate belonging to the Church to ransom the Captive *Christians*, and wanting places conveniently to bestow them, he lodged them in two large Churches, provided for the needy, took care of the sick, himself every hour visiting them both by day and night, with Physicians

Theodor. H. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 18. p. 160.

Vit. Vtic. de persecu. Vandal. lib. 1. fol. 5. p. 2.

ans attending him to ſuperintend their cure, and diet ſuitable to their ſeveral caſes, going from bed to bed to know what every one ſtood in need of. Nay, how often did they venture to relieve their brethren when labouring under ſuch diſtempers as ſeemed immediately to breath *death* in their faces. Thus in that ſad and terrible plague at *Alexandria*, which though it principally raged amongſt the *Gentiles*, yet ceaz'd alſo upon the *Chriſtians*, Many of the brethren (ſays the *Hiſtorian*) out of the *exceſſive* abundance of their *kindneſs* and *charity*, without any regard to their own health and life, boldly ventured into the thickeſt dangers, dayly viſiting, attending, inſtructing, and comforting their ſick and infected brethren, till themſelves expired and died with them: Nay, many of them whom they thus attended recovered and lived, while they who had looked to them died themſelves; as if by a ſtrange and prodigious *charity* they had willingly taken their diſeaſes upon them, and *died* themſelves to ſave them from death. Thus 'twas with the *Chriſtians*, while the *Gentiles* in the mean time put off all ſenſe of humanity, Part 3.

Euſeb. H. Eccl. lib. 7. c. 22. p. 269.

Part 3. nity; when any began to fall sick amongst them, they presently cast them out, shun'd their dearest friends and relations, left them half-dead in the high-ways, and took no care of them either alive or dead.

And that this work of Charity might be the better managed amongst *Christians*, they had in many places (and particularly in this of *Alexandria*) certain persons whose proper office it was to attend and administer to the sick: They were called *Parabolani*, (because especially in pestilential and infectious distempers they did μεθαιμιεξ *cast* themselves into an immediate hazard of their lives) and were peculiarly deputed *ad curanda debilium ægra corpora*, (as the law of the younger *Theodosius* expresses it) to attend and cure the bodies of the infirm and sick. Their *numbers* it seems were very great, insomuch that upon any tumultuary occasions they became formidable even to the Courts of Civil Judicature; upon complaint whereof made to the Emperour, *Theodosius* reduced their number to five hundred; which being found too little, by a second *Constitution* he enlarged it to six hundred. The truth is, these

Cod. Theod. lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Episcopis &c. Lib. 42, 43.

these *Paraholani* were a kind of *Clergy-Physicians*, for that they were under an Ecclesiastical cognizance is plain, being reckon'd up with the *Clergy*, and accordingly by the latter Constitution of *Theodosius* are appointed to be chosen by, and to be immediately subject to the *Bishop* of the place. Part 3.

A third instance of their Love and Charity (and which *S. Ambrose* calls the *highest* piece of liberality) was their care of those that were in *captivity*, groaning under the merciless tyranny and oppression of their enemies, to *relieve* them under, to *redeem* them out of their bondage and slavery. *Cyprian* in a letter to the Bishops of *Numidia* about this very thing, the redemption of those *Christians* amongst them that had been taken captive by the *Barbarians*, elegantly bewails their misery, and earnestly presses their redemption, and as a help towards it sent them *Sestertium centum millia nummûm*; which *Rigaltius* computes to twenty five thousand pounds *French*, though others more truly reduce it to a much lower sum, *viz.* seven thousand five hundred, or two thousand five hundred Crowns; which he and his people had liberally

Offic. lib. 2. c. 15. p. 42.

Epist. 60. p. 96.

Rigalt. in loc.

Gronov. de pecun. vet. lib. 2. c. 2. p. 131.

con-

Part 3. contributed to it. Of *Acacius* Bishop of *Amida* we read in *Socrates*, that when the *Roman* Army had taken seven thousand *Persians* captive, and would neither release them without a ransom, nor yet give them food to keep them alive; this good Bishop, with the consent of the Clergy of his Church, caused all the Gold and Silver *Plate* and vessels that belonged to their Church to be melted down, ransom'd the wretches, fed them, and then freely sent them home to their own Prince: with which *generous* Charity the King of *Persia* (as he well might) was strangely amaz'd, finding that the *Romans* knew how to conquer an enemy by *kindness*, no less than by force of *arms*. The like *S. Ambrose* relates of himself, that he caused the *Communion Plate* of his Church to be broke in pieces to redeem Christians taken captive by the enemy; for which though he was blam'd by the *Arrian* party, yet he elegantly defends the fact, as not only a justifiable, but a proper and eminent act of charity. And indeed 'tis the only case wherein the *Imperial* Constitutions make it lawful to *sell* or *pawn* the Plate and gifts belonging to the Church, it being otherwise made

H. Eccl. lib. 7. c. 21. p. 360.

Ibid. c. 28. p. 50.

Phot. Nomocan. Tit. 8. περὶ ἱερῶν σκευῶν, &c. alib. 8. p. 143.

made *sacriledge* to receive them, and the things absolutely forfeited by those that bought them. This was very great, but yet we meet with a *stranger* Charity than this in the Primitive Church, some that have parted with their own liberty to purchase freedome unto others; So *S. Clemens* assures us in his famous Epistle to the *Corinthians*, *We have known many amongst our selves* (says he) *who have delivered themselves into bonds and slavery, that they might restore others to their liberty; many who have hir'd out themselves servants unto others, that by their wages they might feed and sustain them that wanted.* Of which this one strange instance shall suffice. Under the *Vandalic* persecution many Christians were carried slaves out of *Italy* into *Africk*, for whose redemption *Paulinus* then Bishop of *Nola* had expended his whole estate; at last a widow comes to him, intreats him to give her as much as would ransome her only Son then slave to the King of the *Vandals* Son-in-law; he told her he had not one penny left, nothing but his own *person*, and that he would freely give her to make her best of, and to procure her sons ransome; this the woman

Part 3.

Pag. 70.

Greg. Mag. dial. lib. 3. c. 1. Tom. 3.

Part 3. man look'd upon from a person of his quality as rather a *deriding* her calamity, than a *pitying* of her case: but he assur'd her he was in earnest, and at last induced her to believe him; whereupon they both took shipping for *Africk*, whither they were no sooner come, but the good Bishop addressed himself to the Prince, beg'd the release of the widows Son, and offer'd himself in his room: The issue was, the woman had her Son restor'd her, and *Paulinus* became the Princes slave, who imployed him in the dressing and keeping of his Garden. How he afterwards ingratiated himself into the favour of his Master, and came to be discovered to him who he was, how the Prince set him at liberty, and gave him leave to ask what he would, which he made no further use of than to beg the release of all his Countrey men then in bondage, which was accordingly granted, and all joyfully sent home with their ships laden with Corn and Provisions, I omit as not pertinent to my purpose; they that are desirous to know more of it may read it in the Dialogues of *S. Gregory*, from whence I have borrowed the story. This certainly was Charity with a wit-

a witness, an act that will find more to admire and commend it, than to imitate and follow it. Part 3.

A fourth instance of Primitive Charity, was the great care they took about the *bodies* of the *dead*, in giving them *decent*, and where they could, *honourable* burial; all men naturally have a kindness for their bodies, and therefore desire, that what has so long been the mansion of an *immortal* tenant, may upon its dis-lodging be orderly taken down, and the ruines of it laid up with honour and safety. Mans body besides that 'tis the cabinet of an invaluable jewel, is a curious piece of artifice, *fearfully and wonderfully made*, the excellent contrivance of the divine omniscience, and in that respect challenges not to be carelesly thrown aside, or rudely trampled in the dirt. This seems to be the common sence of mankind, it being the care and practice of almost all Nations in the world religiously to enshrine the remains of their deceased friends in Tombs and Sepulchres; thinking it but reasonable to testifie so much kindness to their departed friends, as to honour their memories, and to secure from rude barbarous violence

Part 3. lence what they left behind them when they put off mortality. Sure I am this was eminently the care of *Christians*, no dangers or threatnings could affright them from doing this last office to their deceased brethren, especially such as had been *Martyrs* and Champions for the Truth. The *Roman* Clergy in an Epistle to them of *Carthage* reckons it as one of greatest instances of Charity, above that of relieving the poor, ministring to the sick, or the rest which they there enumerate and reckon up; tells them that it could not be neglected without great danger, and that fidelity in this matter would be highly acceptable to God, and rewarded by him. *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria* speaking of the Plague that raged there (which we mentioned but now) commends the Christians for assisting their sick dying brethren, that they closed their eyes, laid them out, washed their bodies, dressed and adorned them up for burial, and carried them out upon their own shoulders, which they chearfully did, notwithstanding the imminent danger that attended it, and that it was not long before others were called to do the same offices for them.

Epist. 2. inter Ep. Cyp. p. 9.

Ibid. ubi supr.

them. Their bodies they decently committed to the *ground*, for they abhorred the cuſtom ſo common amongſt the Gentiles of *burning* the bodies of the dead; which they did, not (as the Heathens objected) becauſe they thought that their bodies once burnt to aſhes would be difficultly brought to a *Reſurrection* (a doctrine which they ſtrenuouſly aſſerted, and held faſt as the main *pillar* of their comfort and confidence) but becauſe they looked upon it as *inhumane* and *barbarous*, and contrary to the more ancient and better uſage of mankind in this matter. *Tertullian* calls this way of burial by *inhumation* a piece of piety, and tells us they abſtained from burning the Corps, not as ſome did, becauſe they thought that ſome *part* of the ſoul remained in the body after death, but becauſe it ſavour'd of ſavageneſs and cruelty. Therefore their enemies to do them the greater ſpite, did not only put them to death, but very often burn their dead bodies, and ſprinkle their aſhes into the Sea, partly to hinder them from a decent burial, and partly (as in that tumult at *Alexandria* under *Julian*) that nothing might be left of them

Part 3.

Min. Fel. p. 9.—28.

De Anim. c. 51. p. 308

Amm. Marcellin. lib. 22. p. 1627.

Part 3. them to be honour'd as the remains of Martyrs. As Christianity got ground, this more civil way of inhumation did not only take place, but rooted out the contrary custome even amongst the Gentiles themselves. For though the Emperour *Theodosius* the *Great* gives some intimation of it as remaining in his time, yet not long after it wholly ceased, as is expresly acknowledged by *Macrobius*, who liv'd in the time of the younger *Theodosius*.

C. Theod. l. 6. Tit. 17. de Sep. viol. Lib. 9. Saturnal. lib. 7. c. 7. pag. 514.

Nor did they ordinarily content themselves with a bare interrment, but prepared the body for its funeral with costly *Spices*, and rich odours and perfumes, not sparing the best drugs and ointments which the *Sabeans* could afford, as *Tertullian* plainly testifies. They who while alive generally abstained from whatever was curious and costly, when dead were embalm'd and entombed with great art and curiosity. Whence *Eunapius* (much such a friend to Christianity as *Julian* or *Porphyry*) derides the *Monks* and Christians of *Egypt* for honouring the season'd and embalm'd *bones* and *heads* of Martyrs, such (*says he*) as the Courts of Justice had condemned, and put to death for their

Apol. l. 42. p. 34.

Devit. Philos. in vit. Ædes. p. 65.

their innumerable villanies. This cost the Christians doubtless bestowed upon the bodies of their dead, because they looked upon death as the entrance into a better life, and laid up the body as the *candidate* and expectant of a joyful and happy resurrection. Besides, hereby they gave some encouragement to suffering, when men saw how much care was taken to honour and secure the reliques of their mortality, and that their bodies should not be persecuted *after* death. Part 3.

This their enemies knew very well, and therefore many times denied them the civility and humanity of burial, to strike the greater dread into them. Thus *Maximus* the President threatned *Tharacus* the Martyr, that although he bore up his head so high upon the confidence, that after his death his body should be wound up and embalm'd with ointments and odoriferous spices, yet he would defeat his hopes by causing his body to be burnt, and sprinkling his ashes before the wind. *Act. SS. Tharac. Prob. & Andron. apud Baron. ad An. 299. tom. 2.*

Thus after they had put *Polycarp* to death, they burnt his body out of spite to the Christians who had beg'd it of the *Proconsul*, only to give it a solemn *Euseb. H. Eccl. lib. 4. c. 15 p. 135.*

Part 3. interrment; whereupon gathering his bones which the mercy of the fire had ſpared, they decently committed them to the earth, and there uſed to meet to celebrate the memory of that pious and holy man.

During thoſe times of perſecution they were very careful to bury the bodies of the *Martyrs*, ſome making it their particular buſineſs by ſtealth to interr thoſe in the night, who had ſuffered in the day; this they did with great hazard and danger, many of them (as appears from the ancient *Martyrologies*) ſuffering Martyrdom upon this very account. Afterwards when the Church was ſetled, there was a particular Order of men call'd *Copiatæ*, (either ἀπὸ τῆς κοπῆς from the *pains* they took, or elſe ἀπὸ τῆς κοπάζειν, becauſe they committed the bodies of the dead to the grave the place of *eaſe* and *reſt*) appointed for this purpoſe, about the time of *Conſtantine*, or to be ſure his Son *Conſtantius*, in two of whoſe Laws they are expreſly mentioned, and in the latter ſaid to be lately inſtituted. Their office (as *Epiphanius* tells us) was to wrap up and bury the bodies of the dead, to prepare their graves, and to interr

Cod. Theod. lib. 13 Tit. 1. de Luſtr. Conſ. l. 1. Lib. 16. Tit. 2. de Epiſc. l. 15. λόγ. σ' πρμ. πης. p. 465.

terr them: and becauſe inhumation and giving burial to the dead was ever accounted in a more peculiar manner, a work of piety and religion; therefore theſe perſons were reckoned if not ſtrictly *Clergy-men*, at leaſt in a Clergy-relation, being in both Laws of *Conſtantius* enumerated with, and inveſted in the ſame immunities with the Clergy. By the Authour in *S. Hierom* they are ſtyled *Foſſarii*, grave-makers, and by him plac'd in the firſt and loweſt order of the *Clerici*, and exhorted to be like good old *Tobit* in Faith, Holineſs, Knowledge and Vertue. In the great Church of *Conſtantinople* they were called *Decani*, or *Deans* (but quite diſtinct from the *Palatin Deans* ſpoken of in the *Theodoſian Code*, and frequently elſewhere; who were a military order, and chiefly belonged to the *Emperours* Palace) they were one of the *Collegia* or Corporations of the City. Their number was very great; *Conſtantine* is ſaid to have appointed no leſs than M. C. of them: But by a Law of *Honorius* and *Theodoſius* they were reduc'd to DCCCCL; till afterwards *Anaſtaſius* brought them back to their former number, which

Part 3.

De Sept. Ordin. Eccl. tom. 4. p. 81

Lib. 6. Tit. de Decanis. l. 1.

Lib. 1. Tit. 2. de SS. Eccleſ. l. 4.

Part 3. was also ratified and confirmed by *Justinian*, their particular duties and offices both as relating to the dead, and all other things are largely described in two *Novell* Constitutions of his to that purpose.

Novel. Justin. 43. *p.* 114. & 59. *p.* 134.

Nor did they only take care that the body might be prepared for its funeral, but to provide it of a decent and convenient *Sepulchre*, wherein it might be honourably and securely laid up; a thing which had been always practised by the more sober and civiliz'd part of mankind. Their burying-places (called *Polyandria*, *Cryptæ*, *Arenaria*, but most commonly *Cæmiteria* or *Dormitories*, because according to the notion which the Scripture gives us of the death of the Righteous, *Christians* are not so properly said to *dye* as to *sleep in the Lord*, and their bodies to *rest* in the grave in expectation of a joyful resurrection) were generally in the *fields* or *gardens*, it being prohibited by the *Roman* Laws, and especially an ancient Law of the XII *Tables* to bury within the City walls: This held for some Centuries after Christianity appeared in the world, and longer it was before they buried within Churches; within the

Apud Cicer. de leg. lib 2 *p.* 288. *vol.* 4.

the *out-parts* whereof to be interred, was a privilege at first granted only to *Princes* and persons of the greatest rank and quality. *Chrysostome* assures us that *Constantius* the *Emperour* reckoned he did his Father *Constantine* the *Great* a peculiar honour, when he obtained to have him buried in the *Porch* of the Church which he had built at *Constantinople* to the memory of the *Apostles*, and wherein he had earnestly desired to be buried, as *Eusebius* tells us; and in the same many of his Successors were interred; it not being in use then, nor some hundreds of years after for persons to be buried in the *body* of the Church, as appears from the *Capitula* of *Charles* the *Great*, where burying in the Church, which then it seems had crept into some places, is strictly forbidden. Part 3. *Hom. 26. in Cap. 12. 2 ad Cor. p. 929.* *De Vit. Const. lib. 4. c. 71. p. 562.* *Lib. 1. Cap. 159. fol. 27. p. 1.*

During the first ages of Christianity, while the malice of their enemies persecuted them both *alive* and *dead*, their *Cœmiteria* were ordinarily *under ground*, imitating herein the custome of the *Jews*, whose Sepulchres were in Caverns and holes of rocks, though doubtless the *Christians* did it to avoid the rage and fury of their enemies; not so much

Part 3. much upon the account of *secrecy*; for their frequent retiring to those places was so notorious, as could not escape the observation of their enemies, and therefore we sometimes find the *Emperours* Officers readily coming thither; but it was upon the account of that *Sacredness* and Religion that was reckon'd to be due to places of this nature, it being accounted by all Nations a piece of great impiety, *Manes temerare Sepultos*, to disturb and violate the ashes of the dead. They were large *vaults*, dug in dry sandy places, and arched over, and separated into many little *apartments*, wherein on either side the bodies of the Martyrs lay in distinct Cells, each having an *Inscription* upon Marble, whereon his *Name*, *Quality*, and probably the *time* and *manner* of his death were engraven: Though in the heats of Persecution they were forced to bury great numbers together in one common grave (LX *Prudentius* tells us he observ'd) and then not the names, but only the number of the interred was written upon the Tomb. Indeed the multitudes of Martyrs that then suffered required very large conveniencies of interment. And so they had, insomuch

Prudent. Peri Steph. Pass. Hippol. Mart. Hym. 11. p. 339.

insomuch that the last publisher of the *Roma Subterranea* assures us, that though those *Cæmiteria* were underground, yet were they many times double and sometimes treble, two or three stories, one still under another. Part 3. *Lib. 1. c. 2. num. 9. p. 4.*

By reason hereof they must needs be very dark, having no light from without, but what peep'd in from a few little cranies, which filled the place with a kind of sacred horrour, as *S. Hierom* informs us, who while a youth, when he went to School at *Rome*, us'd upon the Lords day to visit these solemn places. Built they were by pious and charitable persons, (thence called after their names) for the interment of Martyrs, and other uses of the Church; for in these places Christians in times of persecution were wont to hide themselves, and to hold their Religious Assemblies, when banished from their publick Churches, as I have formerly noted. Of these about *Rome* only *Baronius* out of the Records in the *Vatican* reckons up XLIII, and others to the number of *threescore*. We may take an estimate of the rest by the account which *Baronius* gives of one, called the *Cemiterie* of *Priscilla*, discovered in *Comment. in c. 40. Ezekiel. tom. 5. p. 521.* *Ad An. 226. tom. 2.* *Ad an. 130. vid. ad an. 57. tom. 1. num. 113.*

Part 3. in his time, *An.* 1578, in the *Via Salaria* about three miles from *Rome*, which he often viewed and ſearched: It is (*ſays he*) ſtrange to report, the place by reaſon of its vaſtneſs and variety of apartments appearing like a *City under ground*. At the entrance into it there was a principal way or ſtreet much larger than the reſt, which on either hand opened into diverſe other wayes, and thoſe again divided into many leſſer wayes and turnings, like lanes and allies within one another. And as in Cities there are void open places for the *Markets*; ſo here, there were ſome larger ſpaces for the holding (as occaſion was) of their Religious Meetings, wherein were placed the *Effigies* and Repreſentations of Martyrs, with places in the top to let in *light*, long ſince ſtopt up. The diſcovery of this place cauſed great wonder in *Rome*, being the moſt exact and perfect *Cemiterie* that had been yet found out. Thus much I thought good to add upon occaſion of that ſingular care, which Chriſtians then took about the bodies of their dead. If any deſire to know more of theſe venerable Antiquities, they may conſult *Onuphius de Cæmeteriis*,

terits, and especially the *Latin* Edition of the *Roma Subterranea*, where their largest curiosity may be fully satisfied in these things. Part 3. *Edit. à Paul. Aringhio Rom.* 1651. & *Col.* 1659.

Many other instances of their Charity might be mentioned, their ready entertaining strangers, providing for those that laboured in the Mines, marrying poor Virgins, and the like, of which to treat particularly would be too vast and tedious. To enable them to do these charitable offices, they had not only the extraordinary contributions of particular persons, but a common *stock* and treasury of the Church. At the first going abroad of the Gospel into the world, so great was the Piety and Charity of the Christians, That *the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul, neither said any of them, that ought of the things which he possessed was his own, but they had all things common; neither was there any among them that lacked; for as many as were possessors of lands or houses, sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the Apostles feet, and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need.* But this community

Part 3. munity of goods lasted not long in the Church; we find *S. Paul* giving order
1 Cor. 16. 1, 2. to the Churches of *Galatia* and *Corinth* for *weekly offerings for the Saints, that upon the first day of the week* (when they never fail'd to receive the Sacrament) *they should every one of them lay by him in store according as God had prospered him.* This custome *Justin Martyr*
Apol. 2. p. 98, 99. assures us still continued in his time; for describing the manner of their assemblies on the *Lords day*, he tells us that those who were able and willing contributed what they saw good; and the collection was lodg'd in the hands of the *Bishop* or *President*, and by him distributed for the relief of Widows and Orphans, the sick or indigent, the imprison'd or strangers, or any that were in need. In the next age they were reduced to monthly offerings, as
Apol. c. 39. p. 31. appears from *Tertullian*, who gives us this account of them in his time, That at their Religious Assemblies upon a monthly day (or oftner if a man will, and be able) every one according to his ability laid by somewhat for charitable uses (they put it into a kind of *poor mans box* call'd *Arca*, that stood in the Church) this they did freely, no

man

man being forced or compelled to it; Part 3.
leaving it behind them as a ſtock to maintain piety and religion; for 'tis not ſpent (*ſays he*) upon feaſts or drinking-bouts, or to gratifie gluttony and intemperance, but laid out in relieving the needy, burying the dead, providing for Orphans, ſupporting the aged, recruiting the ſpoyled, ſupplying the impriſoned, and thoſe that were in mines, bonds, or ſlavery for the profeſſion of Chriſtianity.

This was the fruit of Primitive devotion. *Palladius* tells us of two Brothers, *Paeſius* and *Eſaias*, Sons of a wealthy Merchant, that their Father being dead, and reſolving upon a more ſtrict and religious courſe of life, they could not agree upon ſetling their Eſtates in the ſame way; at laſt dividing their Eſtates, they diſpoſed them thus. The one gave away his whole Eſtate at once, ſetling it upon *Monaſteries*, *Churches*, and *Priſons* for the relief of ſuch as were in bonds, and betaking himſelf to a Trade for a ſmall maintenance for himſelf, gave himſelf up to prayer and the ſeverer exerciſes of Religion. The other kept his Eſtate in his own poſſeſſion, but built a *Monaſtery*, *Hiſtor. Lauſiac.* c. 15 p. 41.

Part 3. *ſtery*, and taking a few Companions to dwell with him, entertain'd all *ſtrangers* that came that way, took care of the *ſick*, entertained the *aged*, gave to thoſe that needed, and every *Saturday* and *Lords day* cauſed two or three *tables* to be ſpread for the refreſhment and entertainment of the *poor*; and in this excellent way ſpent their life.

Now that this account that we have given of the admirable bounty and charity of the antient Chriſtians is not *precarious*, and meerly what the *Chriſtians* tell us of themſelves, we have the teſtimony of two open enemies of Chriſtianity, *Julian* and *Lucian*, both bitter enemies to Chriſtians, and the fiercer, becauſe both, as 'tis ſuppoſed, apoſtates from them, and their teſtimony is conſiderable upon a double account, partly becauſe having lived amongſt the *Chriſtians* they exactly knew their ways and manners; and partly becauſe being enemies to them they would be ſure to ſpeak no more in their commendation than what was true. *Julian* ſpeaking of the *Galileans*, tells us that by their charity to the poor they begot πολὺ τὸ ἀθέοτητος θαῦμα, the greateſt admiration of their

Miſopog. p. 99.

Religion

Religion in the minds of men. And Part 3.
in an Epistle to the *High-Priest* of *Galatia*, bewailing the desolate state of the *heathen-world*, the ruine of their Temples, and the great declension of *Paganisme* at that time, notwithstanding all his endeavours to make it succeed under the influences of his Government; he advises the High-Priest to promote the *Gentile*-interest by the same method, which the wicked Religion of the *Christians* did thrive by, *i. e.* by their bounty to *strangers*, their care in *burying* of the dead, and their *holiness* of life; and elsewhere, *The poor* (says he) *having no care taken of them, the wicked Galileans know very well how to make their advantage of it, for they give themselves up to humanity and charity, and by these plausible and insinuative ways strengthen and encrease their wicked and pernicious party; just as men cheat little children with a cake, by two or three of which they tempt them to go along with them, till having got them from home, they clap them under hatches, transport and sell them, and so for a little seeming pleasure they are condemned to bitterness all their life; and no otherwise* (says he) *'tis with them, they*

Epist. 49. ad Arsac. oper. par. 2. p. 203.

Fragm. Epist. par. 1. p. 557.

Part 3. *they first inweagle honest minded men with what they call their feasts of Love, banquets, ministry and attendance upon tables, and then seduce them into their wickedness and impiety.* This as at once it shews his *venom* and malice according to the humour of the man, so it openly bears witness out of the mouth of an enemy to the most excellent and generous spirit of the Gospel. The other testimony is that of *Lucian*, (who if not a *Christian* himself, for *Suidas* his Θεωρήσας ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ does no way intimate him to have been a *Christian* Preacher, notwithstanding what the generality of Writers have inferred thence; was yet however intimately acquainted with the affairs of *Christians*) who bringing in his Philosopher *Peregrinus* amongst other *Sects* joyning himself to the *Christians*, tells us what care they took of him, when cast into prison they improved all their interest to have him *released:* But when this could not be granted, they officiously used all possible *service* and respect towards him; in the morning old women, widows, and children flock'd early to the prison-doors; and the better sort got leave of the Keepers to sleep with

In voc. Ἀσκιατός.

De mort. Peregrin. p. 762, 763. tom. 2.

with him in the prison all night; then they had several sorts of *banquets*, and and their *sacred discourses*: Nay, some were sent in the name of the rest even from the Cities of *Asia* to assist, and encourage him; who brought him great sums of *mony* under pretence of his imprisonment; it being incredible what readiness they shew, when any such matter is once noys'd abroad, and how little they spare any cost in it. Part 3.

After which he tells us of them in general, that they equally contemn all the advantages of this life, and account them common, foolishly taking up their principles about these things without any accurate search into them; insomuch that if any *subtle* and *crafty* fellow, that knows how to improve his advantage, come amongst them, he grows very rich in a little time, by making a prey of that simple & credulous people. *Ibid.* p. 764.

There's one circumstance yet behind concerning the *love* and *charity* of those times very worthy to be taken notice of, and that is the universal extent of it, they *did good to all, though more especially to them of the houshold of faith, i. e.* to Christians; they did not confine their bounty meerly within the

Part 2. narrow limits of a *party*, this or that ſect of men, but embraced an object of love and pitty where-ever they met it: They were kind to all men, yea to their bittereſt enemies, and that with a charity as large as the *circles* of the Sun that viſits all parts of the World, and ſhines as well upon a ſtinking dung-hill, as upon a pleaſant Garden. 'Tis certainly the ſtrange and ſupernatural doctrine of our Saviour, *you have heard that it hath been ſaid, Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy: But I ſay unto you, love your enemies, bleſs them that curſe you, do good to them that hate you, pray for them which deſpitefully uſe you and perſecute you.* This indeed is the *proper* goodneſs & excellency of *Chriſtianity*, as *Tertullian* obſerves, it being *common* to all men to *love* their friends, but peculiar only to *Chriſtians* to love their *enemies*. And *Athenagoras* I remember principally makes uſe of this Argument to prove the *Divinity* of the *Chriſtian* Religion, and challenges all the great Maſters of Reaſon & Learning amongſt the *Heathens* to produce any, either of themſelves or their Diſciples, of ſo pure and refin'd a temper, as could inſtead of *hating*, *love* their enemies, bear *curſes* and

Ad Scap. c. 1. p. 69.

Legat. pro Chriſtian. p. 11.

and *revilings* with an undisturbed mind, and instead of *reviling* again, to *bless* and *speak* well of them, and to *pray* for them who lay in wait to take away their lives. And yet this did *Christians*, they embraced their enemies, pardoned and prayed for them, according to the *Apostles* rule, when *their enemy hungred they fed him, when he thirsted they gave him drink, and would not be overcome of evil, but overcame evil with good.* When *Nazianzen* (then Bishop of *Constantinople*) lay sick, a young man came to his beds feet, and taking hold of his feet, with tears and great lamentation passionately begg'd pardon of him for his wickedness; the Bishop asking what he meant by it, he was told that this was the person that had been suborned by a wicked party to have murdered him, and now being stricken with the conscience of so great a wickedness, came to bewail his sin: The good man immediately prayed to *Christ* to forgive him, desiring no other satisfaction from him than that henceforth he would *forsake* that Heretical party, and sincerely serve God as became a *Christian.* Thus when *Paul* the Martyr was hastening

Part 3.

Vit. ejus per Greg. Presbyt.

Euseb. de Martyr. Palestin. c. 8. p. 332

Part 3. stening to his execution, he only begg'd so much respite, till he might pray (which accordingly he did) not only for the peace and happiness of *Christians*, but for the conversion of *Jews* and *Samaritans*, for the *Gentiles* that they might be brought out of errour and ignorance to the knowledge of God and the true Religion; he prayed for the people that attended his execution; nay, (such his vast goodness and charity) for the very *Judge* that condemned him; for the *Emperours*, and the very *Executioner* that stood ready to cut off his head, earnestly begging of God *not to lay that great wickedness to their charge.* Nay, they did not think it enough *not to return evil for evil*, or barely to forgive their enemies, unless they did them all the *kindness* that lay in their power. *Polycarp* plentifully *feasted* the very Officers, that were sent to apprehend him; the same which S. *Mamas* the Martyr is also said to have done, treating the Souldiers with the best supper he had, when sent by *Alexander* the cruel President of *Cappadocia* to seize upon him. And we read of one *Pachomius* an Heathen Souldier in the first times of *Constantine*,

Euseb. lib. 4. c. 15. p. 130.

Martyr. ejus apud Sur. ad 17. Aug. Tom. 4. ex S. Metaph.

Constantine, that the Army being well neer ſtarv'd for want of neceſſary proviſions, and coming to a City that was moſt inhabited by *Chriſtians*, they freely and ſpeedily gave them what-ever they wanted for the accommodation of the Army. Amazed with this ſtrange and unwonted charity, and being told that the people that had done it were *Chriſtians* whom they generally prey'd upon, and whoſe profeſſion it was *to hurt no man*, and *to do good to every man*, he threw away his arms, became an *Anchoret*, and gave up himſelf to the ſtricteſt ſeverities of Religion. This alſo *Julian* the Emperour plainly confeſſes; for urging, *Arſacius* the chief Prieſt of *Galatia*, to take care of the poor, and to build Hoſpitals in every City for the entertaining of poor ſtrangers and travellers, both of their own and other Religions; he adds, *for it's a ſhame* (ſays he) *that when the Jews ſuffer none of theirs to beg, and the wicked Galileans relieve not only their own, but alſo thoſe of our party, that we only ſhould be wanting in ſo neceſſary a duty:* So prevalent is truth as to extort a confeſſion from its moſt bitter and virulent oppoſers. Of this I ſhall on-

Part 3.

Metaphraſt. in vit. Pachomii apud Sur. ad diem 14. Maii tom. 3.

Ubi prim.

Part 3. ly add one instance or two more, proper enough to be inserted here. *Eusebius* speaking of that dreadful plague and famine that happened in the *Eastern* Parts under the Emperour *Maximinus*, wherein so many whole Families miserably perished, and were swept away at once; he adds, that at this time the care and piety of the *Christians* towards all evidently approved it self to all the *Gentiles* that were about them; they being the only persons that during this sad and calamitous state of things performed the real offices of *mercy* and *humanity*; partly in ordering and *burying* of the dead (thousands dying every day, of whom no care was taken) partly in gathering together all the *poor* that were ready to starve, and distributing bread to every one of them: The fame whereof fill'd the ears and mouths of all men who extolled the *God* of the *Christians*, and confessed that they had shewed themselves to be the *only* truly pious and religious persons. And indeed the charity was the more remarkable, in that the *Christians* at this very time were under a most heavy persecution. Thus in the terrible plague that

H. Eccles. hist. lib. 9. c. 8. p. 357.

that in the times of *Gallus* and *Volusian* raged so much through the whole world (and that more or less for fifteen years together) especially at *Carthage*, when innumerable multitudes were swept away every day, and the streets filled with the carcases of the *dead*, which seemed to implore the help of the *living*, and to challenge it as their right by the common Laws of humane nature; but all in vain, every one trembling, flying, and shifting for themselves, deserting their nearest friends and kindred, none staying, unless it was to make a prey: In this sad and miserable case, *Cyprian* then Bishop of the place, calls the *Christians* together, instructs them in the duties of mercy and charity, puts them in mind, that it was no great wonder if their charity extended to their *own party*; the way to be *perfect*, was to do something *more* than *Heathens* and *Publicans*, *to overcome evil with good*, to imitate the divine benignity, *to love our enemies*, and according to our *Lords* advice *to pray for the happiness of them that persecute us*; that God continually made his *Sun* to *rise*, and his *rain* to *fall* not only for the advantage of his *own* children,

Pont. in vit. Cyprian. p. 13.

Part 3.

Part 3. dren, but for all other mens; and that therefore they should imitate the example of such a *father*, who professed themselves to be his *children*. Immediately upon this they unanimously agreed to assist their common enemies, every one lending help according to his rank and quality. Those who by reason of their poverty could contribute nothing to the charge, did what was more, they personally wrought and laboured, an assistance beyond all other contributions: By which large and abundant charity great advantage redounded not to themselves only (*of the houshold of faith*, but universally unto all.

I shall sum up what hath been said upon this Argument in that elegant Discourse which *Lactantius* has concerning works of mercy and charity. Since humane nature (*says he*) is *weaker* than that of other *creatures*, who come into the world armed with offensive and defensive powers, therefore our wise Creatour has given us a tender and merciful disposition, that we might place the *safeguard* of our lives in the mutual assistances of one another. For being all created by *one*

Lact. Epitom. c. 7. p. 746.

God,

God, and ſprung from one common *parent*, we ſhould reckon our ſelves *a-kin*, and obliged to love all mankind; and (that our innocency may be perfect) not only not to do an *injury* to another, but not to *revenge* one when done to our ſelves; for which reaſon alſo we are commanded *to pray for our very enemies*. We ought therefore to be kind and ſociable, that we may help and aſſiſt each other. For being *our ſelves* obnoxious to miſery, we may the more comfortably hope for that help, in caſe we need it, which our ſelves have given unto *others*. And what can more effectually induce us to relieve the indigent, than to put our ſelves into their *ſtead*, who beg help from us? If any be hungry, let us *feed* him; is he naked, let us *cloath* him; if wronged by a powerful oppreſſour, let us *reſcue* and receive him. Let our doors be open to *ſtrangers*, and ſuch who have not where to lay their head. Let not our aſſiſtance be wanting to *Widows* and *Orphans*: And (which is a mighty inſtance of charity) let us *redeem* the captiv'd, *viſit* and aſſiſt the *ſick*, who are able to take no care of themſelves; and for ſtrangers and the poor (in caſe they Part 3.

Part 3. they die) let us not ſuffer them to want the conveniency of a *Grave*. Theſe are the offices and the works of mercy, which who-ever does, offers up a true and grateful ſacrifice to God; who is not pleaſed with the *blood* of *beaſts*, but the *charity* of *men*; whom therefore he treats upon their own terms, has *mercy* on them whom he ſees *merciful*, and is *inexorable* to thoſe who *ſhut up their bowels* againſt them that ask them. In order therefore to our thus pleaſing God, let us make light of mony, and tranſmit it into the *heavenly* treaſures, *where neither moth nor ruſt doth corrupt, nor thieves break through and ſteal*, nor Tyrants are able to ſeize and take it from us, but where it ſhall be kept to our eternal advantage under the *cuſtody* of God himſelf.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of their Unity and Peaceableneſs.

The Laws of Chriſt tend to beget a peaceable diſpoſition. This ſeen in our Saviour himſelf, in his Apoſtles and the whole body of Chriſtians. The account Juſtin Martyr *gives of them. The world over-run with quarrels before Chriſt's coming: The happy alteration that ſucceeded upon his appearance in it. This particularly urged by* Euſebius. *How much Chriſtians contributed to the peace and quietneſs of the world. Their unity among themſelves. Canonical Epiſtles; the ſeveral ſorts of them,* Συνοδικαὶ· Ἀποστολικαὶ· Εἰρηνικαὶ· *What their nature and tendency. Differences preſently endeavoured to be healed. The great care and ſollicitude of* Conſtantine *that way. An eminent inſtance of condeſcention and ſelf-denial in* Gregory Nazianzen *for the peace of the Church. Difference in Rituals and leſſer matters no hinderance of peace and*

Part 3. *and Christian Communion; manifested in the case of* Polycarp *and* Anicetus *Bishop of* Rome. *Christians not provoked by every trifling quarrel. The difference in this respect between them, and the best Philosophers.*

THe primitive Christians being of such a meek, compassionate and benevolent temper as we have represented them, it cannot be thought but that they were of a very quiet disposition, and *peaceable* conversation; and the having been so large in that, will excuse me for being shorter in this. When our blessed *Saviour* came to establish his Religion in the world, he gave a *Law* suitable to his *nature*, and to the *design* of his coming into the world, and to the exercise of his Government as he is *Prince of peace*, a Law of mildness and gentleness, of submission and forbearance towards one another; we are commanded *to follow peace with all men, to follow after the things that make for peace, as much as in us lies to live peaceably with all men*; we are forbidden all feuds and quarrels, enjoyned *not to revenge our selves, but to give place unto wrath, to let all bitterness,*

terneſs, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil ſpeaking be put away from us, with all malice, to be kind one to another, tender hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Chriſt's ſake forgives us. These are the Laws of *Chriſtianity*, which whenever they are duly entertained produce the moſt gentle and *good natur'd* principles, the moſt innocent and quiet carriage. This eminently appeared in the life of our bleſſed *Saviour*, who was the moſt incomparable inſtance of *kindneſs* and *civility*, of *peace* and *quietneſs*; we never find him all his life treating any with ſharpneſs and ſeverity but the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, who were a pack of ſurly, malicious, *ill-natur'd* fellows, and could be wrought upon by no other methods; otherwiſe his mildneſs and humility, the affability and obligingneſs of his converſation, and his remarkable kindneſs to his greateſt enemies were ſufficiently obvious both in his life and death; and ſuch was the temper of his Diſciples and followers, this excellent ſpirit like *leaven* ſpreading it ſelf over the whole maſs of Chriſtians, turning *the brier into a myrtle-tree*, and the Vultur into a Dove. Part 3.

Part 3. Dove. See the account which *Justin* the *Martyr* gives of them. We who formerly valued our mony and estates before all things else, do now put them into a common *stock*, and distribute them to those that are in need: We who once hated each other and delighted in mutual quarrels and slaughters, and according to the custom refused to sit at the same fire with those who were not of our own *tribe* and party; now since the appearance of *Christ* in the world live familiarly with them, *pray for our enemies*, and endeavour to perswade those that unjustly hate us to order their lives according to the excellent precepts of *Christ*, that so they may have good hope to obtain the same rewards with us from the great Lord and Judg of all things.

Apol. 2. p. 61.

But for the better understanding of this it may be useful to observe, what a remarkable alteration in this respect the *Christian* Religion made in the world: Before *Christ*'s coming the world was generally over-run with *feuds* and quarrels, mighty and almost implacable animosities and divisions reigning amongst *Jews* and *Gentiles*; the *Jews* looked upon the *Gentiles*, as

dogs

dogs, and *out-casts*, refus'd all dealings with them, even to the denial of courtesies of common charity and civility, such as to *tell* a man *the way* or to give him a *draught* of water; they reproached them as the vilest and most profligate part of mankind, *sinners of the Gentiles*, as the *Apostle* calls them according to the usual style and title. Nor did the *Gentiles* less scorn and deride the *Jews*, as a pittiful and contemptible generation, stopping their noses, and abhorring the very sight of them if by chance they met them; they looked upon them as an *unsociable* people, as *enemies* of all Nations, that did not so much as *wish well* to any; nay, as *haters* even of mankind, as *Tacitus* and their enemies in *Josephus* represent them: The effect of all which was, that they oppressed and persecuted them in every place, trod them as dirt under their feet, till at last the *Romans* came and finally *took away both their place and Nation*. Thus stood the case between them till the arrival of *the Prince of peace*; who partly by his *death*, whereby he *broke down the partition-wall* between *Jew* and *Gentile*, partly by the healing nature and tendency of his *doctrine*,

Part 3.

Job. 4. 9. *Juvenal. Satyr.* 14. p. 439.

Gal. 2. 15.

Histor. lib. 5. c. 4, 5. p. 535. ἴσον ἅπασιν, ἀσύμφυλον, ἔτι θρησκείαν τῶν ἄλλων πᾶσι ἔχον, ἔτι νόμοις χρώμενον ἀμίσοις, ἐχθρὸν δὲ τοῖς ἔθεσι, καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων δύσμισον τὸ σῶν λαῷ καὶ ἄπαντι ἀνθρώπῳ· διὸ καὶ μισεῖσθαι ἔθνος, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις.

Jos. Antiquit. Judaic. lib. 11. c. 6. vid. Esther. 3. 8. vid. Cic. Pro Flac. p. 368. Tom. 2.

Part 3. *trine*, partly by the quiet & peaceable carriage of his followers, did quickly extirpate and remove those mutual feuds and animosities, and silence those passionate and quarrelsome divisions, that were amongst men.

Praparat. Evangel. lib. 1. c. 4. p. 10, 11. Vid. Athanas. de verb. incarnat. p. 78. tom. 1.

This Argument *Eusebius* particularly prosecutes, and shews that while the Nations were under *Paganism* and *Idolatry*, they were filled with wars and troubles, and all the effects of barbarous rage and fury; but that after the divine and peaceable doctrine of our *Saviour* came abroad, those differences and calamities began to cease, according to the predictions that were of him, that *there should be righteousness and abundance of peace in his days*; *that men should beat their swords into plow-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks*; *that Nation should not lift up sword against Nation, nor learn war any more*; that this must needs be in some measure the effect of his appearance, his doctrine being so fitly calculated to soften the rough and brutish manners of men, and to train them up in milder and more humane institutions: And a little after he makes it an uncontroulable argument of the truth and excellency

excellency of the *Christian* doctrine, Part 3.
that it teaches men to bear the reproaches and provocations of enemies with a generous and unshaken mind, and to be able not to revenge our selves, by falling foul upon them with the like indignities and affronts; to be above anger and passion, and every inordinate and unruly appetite; to administer to the wants and necessities of the helpless, and to embrace every man as our kindred and countrey-man, and though reputed a stranger to us, yet to own him as if by the law of Nature he were our nearest friend and brother. How much their Religion contributed to the publick tranquillity by forbidding *Pride*, *Passion*, *Covetousness* and such sins as are the great springs of confusion and disturbance, *Justin Martyr* tells the Emperours, As for peace (*says he*) we above all men in the world promote and further it, forasmuch as we teach that no wicked man, no covetous or treacherous person, no good or vertuous man can lye hid from the eye of God, but that every man is travelling either towards an eternal happiness or misery according to the desert and nature of his works: and did all men *Apol.* 2. p. 59.

Part 3. know and believe this, no man would dare for a few moments to deliver up himself to vice and wickedness, knowing 'twould lead him on to the condemnation of everlasting fire; but would rather by all means restrain himself, and keep within the bounds of vertue, that he might obtain the rewards that are dispens'd by God, and avoid the punishments that are inflicted by him. The truth is, our blessed *Lord* came not to inspire men with principles of revenge and passion, to teach them to *return evil for evil*, but to encourage love and gentleness, to teach men to overcome by suffering, and to obtain the reward by meekness and patience. *Isidore* the *Pelusiote* treating of that place, *to him that smites thee on the right cheek turn the other also*, has this short discourse upon it. The great *King* of Heaven came down from above, to deliver to the world the laws of an heavenly conversation; which he has proposed in a way of conflict and striving, quite contrary to that of the *Olympick* games. There he that fights and gets the better receives the *Crown*; here he that is stricken and bears it meekly, has the honour and applause: there

Epist. 127. *lib.* 3. *p.* 269.

there he that returns blow for blow, Part 3.
here he that *turns the other cheek*, is celebrated in the *Theatre* of *Angels*; for the victory is measured not by revenge, but by a wise and generous patience: this is the *New Law* of Crowns, this the new way of conflicts and contentions.

Such was the temper, such the carriage of Christians towards their *enemies*, and them that were without; within themselves they maintained the most admirable peace and harmony, and were in a manner *of one heart and soul*: They liv'd in the strictest amity, and abhorr'd all division as a plague and fire-brand. But because mens understandings not being all of one *size*, nor all truths alike plain and evident, differences in mens *Judgements* and *Opinions* must needs arise; no Schism ever arose in the Church about any of the more considerable principles of Religion, but it was presently bewailed with universal resentment of all pious and good men, and the breach endeavoured to be made up; no ways left unattempted, no methods of perswasion omitted that might contribute to it.

When *Novatus*, [or rather *Novatian*]

Part 3. had made some disturbance in the Church of *Rome* concerning the receiving the lapsed into Communion, *Dionysius* the good Bishop of *Alexandria* writes to him to extinguish the Schism, tells him 'tis better to suffer any thing than that the Church of God should be rent in pieces; that it's no less glorious, and probably more illustrious to suffer Martyrdom to keep division out of the Church, than to dye for not sacrificing to Idols; for in the one case a man suffers martyrdom only upon his own account, but in the other he suffers for the advantage and benefit of the whole Church. And *Cyprian* positively asserts (according to the Apostles resolution of the case) that without this unity and charity *a man cannot enter into Heaven*; and that although he should deliver up himself to the *flames*, or cast his body to wild beasts, yet this would not be the crown of his *Faith*, but the punishment of his *falshood*, not the glorious exit of a religious vertue, but the issue of despair; such a one may be *killed*, but he cannot be *crowned*.—— He that rents the Unity of the Church, destroys the *Faith*, disturbs the *Peace*, dissolves *Charity*, and profanes the *Holy*

Euseb. H. Eccl. lib. 6. c. 45. p. 247.

De Unit. Eccl. p. 184

Sacra-

Sacrament. How ſeverely they branded all ſchiſm & diviſion in the Church, how induſtriouſly they laboured to take up all controverſies amongſt Chriſtians, and to reconcile *diſſenting brethren*, to maintain concord and agreement amongſt themſelves, and to prevent all occaſions of quarrel & diſſention, might be eaſily made to appear out of the Writers of thoſe times. Hence thoſe *Canonical* Epiſtles (as they called them) wherewith perſons were wont to be furniſh'd when going from one place to another; of which there were eſpecially three ſorts. First, Συστατικαὶ or *Commendatory* Epiſtles, mention'd by *S. Paul*, and were in uſe amongſt the Heathens. They were granted to *Clergy-men* going into another *Dioceſs* by the Biſhop that ordained them, teſtifying their ordination, their ſoundneſs and orthodoxy in the Faith, the innocency and unblameableneſs of their lives: To thoſe that had been under, or had been ſuſpected of *Excommunication*, declaring their abſolution, and recommending them to be received in the number of the *faithfull*: Laſtly, they were granted to all, whether *Clergy* or *Laity*, that were to *travel*, as *Tickets* of *Hoſpitality*, that Part 3.

Part 3. wherever they came, upon the producing these letters they might be known to be *Catholick* and Orthodox, and as such received and entertained by them.

Sozom. H. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 16. p. 617. Naz. in Jul. 1. p. 102.

A piece of prudence which *Julian* the *Apostate* admired in the *Christian* constitution, the like whereto he endeavoured to establish in his Pagan reformation. The Second sort were Ἀπολυτικαὶ, Letters *Dimissory*, whereby leave was given to persons going into another Diocess, either to be *Ordained* by the Bishop of that place, or if ordain'd already, to be admitted and *incorporated* into the Clergy of that Church. Upon which account the ancient *Councels* every where provide that no stranger shall either receive ordination at the hands of another Bishop, or exercise any ministerial act in another Diocess, without the consent and *dimissory* Letters of the Bishop of that place from whence he comes. The third were Εἰρηνικαὶ, *letters of Peace*, granted by the Bishop to the poor that were oppressed, and such as fled to the Church for its protection and assistance: but especially to such of the Clergy as were to go out of one Diocess into another, it being directed to the Bishop of that Diocess,

Dioceſs, that he would receive him, Part 3.
that ſo he might take no offence, but that peaceable concord and agreement might be maintained between them. By theſe arts the prudence of thoſe times ſought to ſecure the peace of the Church, and as much as might be, prevent all diſſentions that might ariſe. And where matters of any greater moment fell out, how quickly did they flock together to compoſe and heal them?

Hence thoſe many *Synods* and *Councels* that were conven'd to umpire differences, to explain or *define Articles* of Faith, to condemn and ſuppreſs the diſturbers of the Church, and innovators in Religion. What infinite care did the good Emperour *Conſtantine* take for compoſing the *Arrian* controverſies which then began firſt to infect and over-run the world? How much his heart was ſet upon it, his ſollicitous thoughts taken up about it, how many troubleſome days and reſtleſs nights it coſt him, with what ſtrong and nervous arguments, what affectionate intreaties he preſſes it, may be ſeen in that excellent Letter (yet extant in his Life) which he wrote to the Authors of thoſe impious

De Vit. Conſtant. lib. 2. c. 54. & ſeqq. p. 473.

Part 3. impious and unhappy controverſies. But when this would not do, he ſummon'd the great Councel of *Nice*, conſiſting of *three hundred and eighteen Biſhops*, and in his Speech at the opening of that Councel conjur'd them by all that was dear and ſacred to agree, and to compoſe thoſe diſſentions which were riſen in the Church, which he ſeriouſly proteſted he looked upon as more grievous and dangerous than any war whatſoever, and that they created greater trouble and inquietude to his mind, than all the other affairs of his Empire. And when ſeveral of the Biſhops then in Councel had preferred *Libells* and Accuſations one againſt another, without ever reading them, he bundled and ſeal'd them all up together, and having reconciled and made them friends, produc'd the papers, and immediately threw them into the fire before their faces: So paſſionately deſirous was that good Prince to extinguiſh the flames, and to redeem the peace of the Church at any rate. Were any *ejected* and thrown out of the Church, of which there might be a ſuſpicion of private grudges or deſigns, the *Nicene* Councel wiſely provided,

Ibid. lib. 3. c. 12. p. 489.

Theod. H. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 11. p. 25.

Can. 5.

vided, That in every Province a *Synod* ſhould be held twice a year, where all the Biſhops meeting together might diſcuſs the caſe, and compoſe the difference. Or, as *Joſeph* the *Egyptian* in his *Arabick* verſion of that *Canon* tells us, an *Arbitrator* was to be appointed between the differings parties, to take up the quarrel, that it might not be a ſcandal to Religion. Part 3.

Nor did there want meek and peaceable-minded men who valued the *publick* welfare before any *private* and perſonal advantage, and could make their own particular concerns ſtrike ſail, when the peace and intereſt of the Church called for it. When great conteſts and confuſions were raiſed by ſome perverſe and unquiet perſons about the See of *Conſtantinople* (then poſſeſt by *Gregory Nazianzen*) he himſelf ſtood up in the midſt of the Aſſembly and told the Biſhops, how unfit it was that they who were *preachers* of peace to others, ſhould *fall out* amongſt themſelves, beg'd of them even by the *Sacred Trinity* to manage their affairs calmly and peaceably; and *if I* (ſays he) *be the* Jonas *that raiſes the ſtorm, throw me into the Sea, and let theſe ſtorms*

Vit. Greg. Naz. per Gregor. Presbyt.

Part 3. *storms and tempests cease. I am willing to undergo what ever you have a mind to; and though innocent and unblameable, yet for your peace and quiet sake, am content to be banished the throne, and to be cast out of the City; only according to the Prophets counsel, be careful to love truth and peace:* And therewith freely resigned his *Bishoprick*, though legally setled in it by the express command and warrant of the Emperour, and the universal desires and acclamations of the people.

The same excellent temper ruled in *S. Chrysostome* one of his successours in that *See*; when having elegantly pressed the unity of the Church, and refuted those petty cavils which his adversaries had against himself; *But if you* (says he to his people) *suspect these things of us, we are ready to deliver up our place and power to whomsoever you will; only let the Church be preserved in peace and unity.* This was the brave and noble disposition of mind, to which *S. Clemens* sought to reduce the *Corinthians*, after they had fallen into a little Schism and disorder: Who is there among you (*says he*) of that *generous* temper, that *compassionate* and *charitable*

Homil. 11. *in Ep. ad Ephes. p.* 1110.

Epist. ad Cor. p. 69.

ble disposition? Let him say, if this *Sedition*, these *Schisms* and *contentions* have arisen through *my means*, or upon *my account*, i'le depart and be gone whithersoever you please, and will do what the people shall command; only let *Christs* sheep-fold together with the *Elders* that are placed over it, be kept in peace. Part 3.

Nay, when good men were most zealous about the main and foundation-articles of Faith, so as sometimes rather to hazard *Peace*, than to betray the *Truth*, yet in matters of *indifferency*, and such as only concern'd the *rituals* of Religion, they mutually bore with one another, without any violation of that Charity which is the great law of Christianity. Thus in that famous controversie about the keeping of *Easter*, so much agitated between the *Eastern* and *Western* Churches, *Irænus* in a Letter to *Pope Victor* (who of all that ever sat in that chair had raised the greatest stirs about it) tells him that Bishops in former times, however they *differed* about the observation of it, yet alwayes maintain'd an intire *concord* and fellowship with one another, the Churches being careful to maintain a peaceable communion,

Euseb. H. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 24. p. 193.

Part 3. munion, though differing in some particular Rites and Ceremonies, yea even when their rites and customs seemed to clash by meeting together at the same place. Thus when *Polycarp* came to *Rome* from the Churches of the *East* to treat with *Pope Anicetus* about this and some other affaires, though they could not satisfie each other to yield the controversie, yet they *kissed* and embraced one another with mutual endearments, received the Holy Communion together; and *Anicetus* to do the greater honour to *Polycarp* gave him leave to celebrate and consecrate the *Eucharist* in his Church, and at last they parted in great peace and friendship; the difference of the observation not at all hindering the agreement and harmony of the Churches, it being agreed amongst them by common consent (says *Sozomen* speaking of this passage) that in keeping this festival they should each follow their own *custom*, but by no means break the *peace* and communion that was between them; for they reckoned it (*says he*) a very foolish and unreasonable thing, that they should fall out for a few rites and customs, who agreed in the main Principles of Religion. The

H. Eccl. lib. 7. c. 19. p. 734.

The Christians of those times had too deeply imbibed that precept of our Saviour, *love one another, as I have loved you*, to fall out about every nice and trifling circumstance; no, when highliest provoked and affronted they could *forbear* and *forgive* their *enemies*, much more their *brethren*, and were not like the *waspish* Philosophers amongst the *Heathens*, who were ready to fall foul upon one another for every petty and inconsiderable difference of opinion that was amongst them. So *Origen* tells *Celsus*, Both amongst your Philosophers and Physicians (*says he*) there are *Sects* that have perpetual feuds and quarrels with each other, whereas we who have entertained the Laws of the blessed *Jesus*, and have learnt both to speak and to do according to his doctrine, *bless them that revile us, being persecuted, we suffer it; being defamed, we entreat*; nor do we speak dire and dreadful things against those that differ from us in opinion, and do not presently embrace those things, which we have entertain'd: But as much as in us lies we leave nothing unattempted that may perswade them to change for the better, and to give up themselves

Part 3.

Lib. 5 p. 273.

Part 3. themselves only to the service of the great Creatour, and to do all things as those that must give an account of their actions. In short, Christians were careful not to offend either *God* or *men*, but to keep and maintain peace with both; thence that excellent saying of *Ephræm Syrus* the famous Deacon of *Edessa* when he came to die; *In my whole life* (said he) *I never reproached my Lord and Master, nor suffered any foolish talk to come out of my lips, nor did I ever curse or revile any man, or maintain the least difference or controversie with any Christian in all my life.*

Vit. Ephram Syr. per Gregor. Nyss. tom. 2. p. 1033.

CHAP. IV.

Of their Obedience and Subjection to Civil Government.

Magistracy the great band of publick peace. This highly secured by Christianity. The Laws of Christ that way express and positive. Made good in his own practice, and the practice of his Apostles. The same spirit in succeeding Ages, manifested out of Justin Martyr, Polycarp, Tertullian *and* Origen.

Origen. *Praying for Rulers and Emperours a ſolemn part of their publick worſhip. Their ready payment of all Cuſtoms and Tributes, and their faithfulneſs in doing it. Chriſtians ſuch, even under the heavieſt oppreſſions and perſecutions, and that when they had power to have righted and reveng'd themſelves. An excellent paſſage in* Tertullian *to that purpoſe. The temper of the Chriſtian Souldiers in* Julian's *Army. The famous Story of* Mauricius, *and the* Thebæan *Legion under* Maximinianus *reported at large out of* Eucherius Lugdunenſis. *The injuſtice of the charge brought againſt them by the Heathens, of being enemies to Civil Government. Accuſed of Treaſon. Of their refuſing to ſwear by the Emperours genius. Their denying to ſacrifice for the Emperours ſafety, and why they did ſo. Their refuſing to own the Emperors for gods, and why. Their not obſerving the ſolemn Feſtivals of the Emperours, and the reaſons of it. Accuſed of Sedition and holding unlawful Combinations. An account of the* Collegia *and Societies in the* Roman *Empire. Chriſtianity forbidden upon that account.* Part 3.

The

Part 3. *The Christian Assemblies no unlawful Conventions. A vast difference between them and the unlawful factions forbidden by the* Roman *Laws. Their confident challenging their enemies to make good one charge of disturbance or rebellion against them. Their Laws and principles quite contrary. The Heathens themselves guilty of rebellions and factions, not the Christians. The Testimony given them by* Julian *the Emperour. A reflection upon the Church of* Rome *for corrupting the doctrine and practice of Christianity in this affair. Their principles and policies in this matter.* Bellarmin's *position, that 'tis lawful to depose infidel and heretical Princes, and that the Primitive Christians did it not to* Nero, Diocletian, &c. *only because they wanted power, censured and refuted. This contrary to the avow'd principles of honest Heathens.*

HOw much Christian Religion transcribed into the lives of its professors contributes to the happiness of men not only in their single and *private* capacities, but as to the *publick* welfare of humane societies, and to the common

common interests and conveniences of mankind, we have already discovered in several instances; now because *Magistracy* and Civil Government is the great support and instrument of external peace and happiness, we shall in the last place consider how eminent the first Christians were for their **Submission** and **Subjection** to **Civil Government**. And certainly there's scarce any particular instance wherein Primitive Christianity did more triumph in the world, than in their exemplary obedience to the Powers and Magistrates, under which they lived; honouring their persons, revering their power, paying their tribute, obeying their Laws, where they were not evidently contrary to the Laws of *Christ*, and where they were, submitting to the most cruel penalties they laid upon them with the greatest calmness and serenity of soul. The truth is, one great design of the *Christian* Law is to secure the interests of *civil* Authority; *our Saviour* has expressly taught us, *that we are to give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars, as well as unto God the things that are Gods*: And his Apostles spoke as plainly as words could speak it; *Let* Part 3.

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HOw much Christian Religion transcribed into the lives of its professors contributes to the happiness of men not only in their single and *private* capacities, but as to the *publick* welfare of humane societies, and to the common

common interests and conveniences of mankind, we have already discovered in several instances; now because *Magistracy* and Civil Government is the great support and instrument of external peace and happiness, we shall in the last place consider how eminent the first Christians were for their **Submission** and **Subjection** to **Civil Government**. And certainly there's scarce any particular instance wherein Primitive Christianity did more triumph in the world, than in their exemplary obedience to the Powers and Magistrates, under which they lived; honouring their persons, revering their power, paying their tribute, obeying their Laws, where they were not evidently contrary to the Laws of *Christ*, and where they were, submitting to the most cruel penalties they laid upon them with the greatest calmness and serenity of soul. The truth is, one great design of the *Christian* Law is to secure the interests of *civil* Authority; *our Saviour* has expressly taught us, *that we are to give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars, as well as unto God the things that are Gods*: And his Apostles spoke as plainly as words could speak it; *Let* Part 3.

Part 3. *every soul be subject to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God, the powers that be are ordain'd of God: Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation: Wherefore you must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake; for, for this cause pay you tribute also, for they are Gods Ministers, attending continually upon this very thing: Render therefore to all their dues, tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour:* Where we may take notice both of the *strictness* and *universality* of the charge, and (what is mainly material to observe) this charge given the *Romans* at that time when *Nero* was their *Emperour*, who was not only an *Heathen* Magistrate, but the *first persecutor* of Christians, a man so prodigiously brutish and tyrannical, that the world scarce ever brought forth such another monster. The same Apostle amongst other directions given to *Titus* for the discharge of his office, bids him *put the people in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, and to obey Magistrates.* S.

Peter

Peter delivers the same doctrine to a tittle, *Submit your selves to every ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether it be to the King as Supreme, or unto Governours as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well; for so is the will of God, that with well-doing you may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men.* Part 3.

Such are the *commands*; and such was the *practice* of *Christ* and his *Apostles*. When a *tax* was demanded of him, though he was the *Son* of God, he refused not to pay *tribute* unto *Cæsar*, even when it put him to the expence and charges of a miracle: When arraigned for his life at *Pilat*'s bar, he freely owned his authority, and chearfully submitted to that wicked and unrighteous sentence, though able to command more than *twelve Legions* of *Angels* for his rescue and deliverance. The *Apostles* though unjustly scourged before the *Councel*, yet made no tart reflections, but *went away rejoycing*. When *Herod* had cut off S. *James* his head, and consigned *Peter* in prison to the same butchery and execution, what *arms* did the Christians use, rise up and

Part 3. put him out of the throne, ſcatter *libels*, raiſe *tumults* or factions in the City? Oh no, the Churches weapons were *prayers* and *tears*, their only refuge in thoſe evil times.

Nor did this excellent ſpirit die with the *Apoſtles*; we find the ſame temper ruling in the ſucceeding Ages of Chriſtianity: The Chriſtians (ſays one of the *Antients*) obey the Laws that are made, and by the exactneſs of their lives go *beyond* that accuracy which the Law requires of them; they love all men though all men ſtudy to afflict and perſecute them. Are there any (as *Athenagoras* concludes his addreſs to the *Emperours*) more devoted to you than we? who pray for the happineſs of your Government, that according to right and eqtity the *Son* may ſucceed his *Father* in the Empire, that your dominions may be enlarged, and that all things may proſper that you take in hand; and this we do, as that which turns both to yours and our own advantage, that ſo *under you leading a quiet and peaceable life*, we may chearfully obey all thoſe commands which you lay upon us. S. *Polycarp* a little before his Martyrdom wrote to the *Chriſtians* at

J. Mart. Epiſt. ad Diogn. p. 497.

Leg. pro Chriſtian. p. 39.

Apud Euſeb. lib. 3. *c.* 36. *p.* 108.

at *Philippi*, earnestly exhorting them all to obey their Rulers, and to exercise all patience and long-suffering towards them; and when he stood before the *Proconsul*, he told him, that this was the great Law of *Christianity*, that we are commanded by God to give all due honour & obedience to Princes and Potentates, such as is not *prejudicial* to us, *i.e.* (for so doubtless he means) such as is not *contrary* to the principles of our Religion. *Tertullian* tells us 'twas a solemn part of the *Church-service* in his time, to *pray* for the happiness and prosperity of the Princes under whom they lived: *We pray* (says he) *for the Emperors, for the Grandees and Ministers of State, for the prosperity of the Age, for the quietness of affairs, for the continuance of their lives and Government; that God would give them a long life, a secure reign, an undisturbed house, powerful Armies, faithful Senators, honest Subjects, a quiet people, and indeed what-ever they can wish for, either as men or Emperours.* They that think (*says he*) that we are not sollicitous about the *safety* of Princes, let them look into the commands of God recorded in our *Scriptures*, which wee freely expose to the view of all; there

Part 3.

Ibid. lib. 4. c. 15. p. 132.

Apol. c. 39. p. 31.

Ibid. c. 31.

Part 3. there they'l find that we are enjoyn'd to *pray* for the *happineſs* of our very *enemies* and perſecutors; and who are ſo much ſuch as they? And yet we are plainly and particularly commanded to *pray for Kings, for Princes, and all that are in authority, that the ſtate of things may be quiet and peaceable*; a Chriſtian being an *enemy* to *no man*, is much leſs ſo to his *Prince*. Thus when *Celſus* ſeemed to object as if the *Chriſtians* refuſed to help the *Emperours* in their wars, *Origen* anſwers, that they did really aſſiſt and help him, and that rather with *divine* than *humane* weapons, according to the command of the Apoſtle, *I exhort that firſt of all, ſupplications, prayers, interceſſions, and giving of thanks be made for all men, for Kings and all that are in authority*: And he tells him that the more eminent any man is for piety and Religion, he will be able to afford greater aſſiſtance to his Prince, than a great many armed Souldiers, that ſtand ready to fight for him, and to deſtroy his enemies.

Lib. 8. p. 426. l

For all *cuſtomes* and *tributes* none ever paid them more freely than they. For your *taxes* and tributes (ſays *Juſtin Martyr* to the *Emperours*) we are above all

Apol. 2. p. 61.

all other men every where ready to bring them in to your Collectors and Officers, being taught so to do by our great Master, who bad those that asked the question whether they might pay tribute unto *Cæsar*, *To give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars, and unto God the things that are Gods*: For which reason we worship none but God; and as for you in all other things we chearfully serve you, acknowledging you to be *Emperours* and Governours of men, and praying, that together with your Imperial Power you may have a wise and discerning judgement and understanding. If the *Emperour* command me to pay tribute (says another of their *Apologists*) I am ready to do it; if my *Lord* command me to serve and obey him, I confess my obligation to it: Man is to be serv'd with that respect that is due to man: but God only who is invisible and incomprehensible is to be *religiously* fear'd and honour'd: if commanded to deny him, I must dis-obey, and dye rather than be found perfidious and ingratefull to him. So *Tertullian* tells them, that although they refused to pay the taxes rated upon them for maintenance of

Part 3.

Tatian. Orat. contr. Græc. p. 144.

Apol. c. 42. *p.* 34.

Part 3. the *Heathen-temples*, yet for all *other* tributes they had cause to give the *Christians* thanks for so faithfully paying what was due, it being their principle to abstain from defrauding of others; insomuch, that should they examine their accounts, how much of the assessments was lost by the fraud and couzenage of them of their own party, they would easily find that the *Christians* denial to pay that one tax was abundantly compensated and made up in their honest payment of all the rest. The truth is, they were admirably exact and conscientious as in all their actions, so especially in those that related to the publick, and concern'd their duty and obedience to their rulers and governours.

Nor were they thus only in *Prosperous* times, but under the heaviest persecutions, as indeed the rod was seldome off their backs: The last mentioned *Apologist* bids their Judges go on to butcher them, and tells them they did but force those *Souls* out of their *Bodies*, which were praying to God for the Emperours happiness, even while their Officers were doing of it. And *Cyprian* tells the *Proconsul*, that as badly

Cap. 30. *p.* 27.

Ad. Demetrian. p. 202.

ly as they were uſed, yet they ceaſed not to pray for the overthrow and expulſion of the common enemies, for ſeaſonable ſhowers, and either for the removing or mitigating publick evils, begging of God day and night with the greateſt inſtance and importunity for the peace and ſafety of their perſecutors, endeavouring to pacifie and propitiate God who was angry with the iniquities of the age. Nor were they thus kind and good natur'd, thus ſubmiſſive and patient for *want* of power, and becauſe they knew not how to help it: *Tertullian* anſwers in this caſe, that if they thought it lawfull to *return evil for evil* they could in *one night* with a few *fire brands* plentifully revenge themſelves; that they were no ſmall and inconſiderable party, and that they needed not betake themſelves to the little arts of skulking revenges, being able to appear in the capacity of open enemies, that though but of yeſterdays ſtanding, yet they had filled all places, all *Offices* of the Empire; and what wars were not they able to manage, who could ſo willingly give up themſelves to be ſlain? did not the law of Chriſtianity oblige

Part 3.

Apol. c. 37. p. 30.

Part 3. oblige them to be *killed* rather than to *kill*; nay, that they need not take up arms and rebel, for their party was so *numerous*, that should they but agree together to leave the *Roman Empire*, and to go into some remote corner of the world, the loss of so many members would utterly ruine it, and they would stand amaz'd and affrighted at that solitude and desolation that would ensue upon it, and have more *enemies* than loyal *Subjects* left amongst them; whereas now they had the fewer *enemies* for having so many *Christians*.

The Christians then opposed not their enemies with the points of their *swords*, but with solid *Arguments*, and mild intreaties. Thus when *Julian* the *Emperour* urg'd his army, which was almost wholly made up of *Christians*, to wicked counsels, and the practices of idolatry, they withstood him only with *prayers and tears*, accounting this (*says my Author*) to be the *only* remedy against persecution. So far were they from resisting or rebelling, that they could quietly *dye* at the *Emperours* command, even when they had power lying at their foot. I cannot in this place omit the memorable instance of

Naz. invect. 1. in Julian. p. 94.

of the *Thebæan Legion*, being ſo exceedingly appoſite and pertinent to my purpoſe, and ſo remarkable as no age can furniſh out ſuch another inſtance; I ſhall ſet down the ſtory intirely out of the *Author* himſelf, the account of their martyrdom written by *Eucherius* Biſhop of *Lyons*, who aſſures us he received the relation from very credible hands; and it is thus: Part 3.

Martyr. SS. Mauricii & ſocior. ab Eucher. Lugdunenſ. conſcript. apud Surium ad diem 22. Sept. p. 220. &c. Edit. Colon. 1618.

Maximianus Cæſar (whom *Diocleſian* had lately taken to be his Colleague in the *Empire*) a bad man, and a bitter perſecutor of the *Chriſtians*, was ſent into *France* to ſuppreſs a mutiny and rebellion riſen there; to ſtrengthen his Army there was added to it a band of *Chriſtians* called the *Thebæan Legion*, conſiſting according to the manner of the *Romans* of *Six thouſand ſix hundred ſixty ſix* faithful, expert and reſolute Souldiers. Coming to *Octodurus* (a place in *Savoy*) and being ready to offer ſacrifice to the gods, he cauſes his Army to come together, and commands them under a great penalty to ſwear by the *Altars* of their gods, that they would unanimouſly fight againſt their enemies, and perſecute the *Chriſtians* as enemies to the gods; which the *Thebæan*

Part 3. *bæan Legion* no ſooner underſtood, but they preſently withdrew to *Agaunum* (a place eight miles off, call'd at this day *S. Mauritzs*, from *Mauricius* the Commander of the *Legion*; a place equally *pleaſant* and *ſtrong*, being encompaſſed about with craggy and inacceſſible rocks) to avoid if it might be the wicked and ſacrilegious command, and to refreſh themſelves, tyred with ſo long a march; but the Emperour taking notice of the Army as they came to ſwear, quickly miſs'd the *Legion*, and being angry, ſent Officers to them to require them forthwith to do it; who enquiring what it was that they were commanded to do, were told by the meſſengers, that all the Souldiers had offered ſacrifices, and had taken the forementioned oath, and that *Cæſar* commanded them to return preſently and do the like: To whom the heads of the Legion mildly anſwered, That for this reaſon they left *Octodurus*, becauſe they had heard they ſhould be forced to ſacrifice, that being *Chriſtians*, and that they might not be defiled with the Altars of *Devils*, they thought themſelves oblig'd to worſhip the *living* God, and to keep that Religion

gion which they had entertain'd in the *East*, to the last hour of their life: that as they were a *Legion* they were ready to any service of the war; but to return to him to commit sacriledge as he commanded, they could not yield. Part 3.

With this Answer the messengers returned, and told the *Emperour*, that they were resolved not to obey his Commands, who being transported with anger, began thus to vent his passion: *Do my Souldiers think thus to sleight my Royal Orders, and the holy Rites of my Religion? Had they only despised the Imperial Majesty, it would have call'd for publick vengeance, but together with the contempt of me, an affront is offered to Heaven, and the Roman Religion is as much despised as I am. Let the obstinate Souldiers know, that I am not only able to vindicate my self, but to revenge the quarrel of my gods. Let my faithful Servants make haste, and dispatch every tenth man according as the fatal lot shall fall upon him: By this equal death let those whose lot it shall be to dye first, know, how able* Maximian *is severely to revenge both himself and his gods.* With that the command is given, the *Executioners* sent, the Emperours pleasure

Part 3. pleaſure made known, and every *tenth* man is put to death; who chearfully offer'd their necks to the Executioners, and the only contention amongſt them was, who ſhould *firſt* undergo that glorious death. This done, the *Legion* is commanded to return to the reſt of the Army. Whereupon *Mauritius* the General of the *Legion*, calling it a little aſide, thus beſpake them; I congratulate (moſt excellent *fellow-ſouldiers*) your *courage* and valour, that for the love of Religion, the command of *Cæſar* has made no impreſſion upon you; you have ſeen your fellow-ſouldiers, with minds full of joy, undergoing a glorious death: how much afraid was I, leſt being arm'd (and how eaſie is it for ſuch to do ſo) you ſhould under a pretence of *defending* them have endeavour'd to *hinder* their happy funerals:——See, I am encompaſſed round with the bodies of my fellow-ſouldiers, whom the diſmal Executioner has torn from my ſide; I am beſprinkled with the blood of the *Saints*, my clothes died with the reliques of their ſacred *blood*; and ſhall I doubt to follow their *death*, whoſe *example* I ſo much congratulate and admire? Shall I concern my ſelf to think

think what the *Emperour* commands, who is equally subject to the same law of mortality with thy self?—— I remember we once took this *Military Oath*, that with the utmost hazard of our lives we would defend the Common-Weath; this we then engaged to the *Emperours*, though no *Heavenly* Kingdome was promised to us; and if we could promise this out of devotion to a *Military* service, what then is to be done, when *Christ* promises so much to them that engage with him? Let us willingly expose our lives to this most precious death; let us shew a masculine courage, and an unviolated faith. Methinks I see those blessed souls standing before *Christs* tribunal, whom the *Emperours* Officer just now banished out of their bodies: that's the true glory which will recompence the shortness of this life with a blessed eternity: Let us by the Messengers unanimously return this Answer to the Emperour; *We acknowledge*, Cæsar, *that we are your Souldiers, and took up Arms for defence of the Empire; nor did we ever basely betray our trust, or forsake our station, or deserv'd that the brand either of fear or cowardise should be set upon us; nor* Part 3.

should

Part 3. *should we ſtick now to obey your Commands, did not the Laws of Chriſtianity, wherein we have been inſtructed, forbid us to worſhip devils, and to approach the polluted altars of the gods. We underſtand you are reſolved either to defile us with ſacrilegious worſhip, or to terrifie us with a decimation: Spare any further ſearch concerning us, know we are all Chriſtians, our bodies we yield ſubject to your Power, but our ſouls we reſerve intire for Chriſt the Author and the Saviour of them.*

This was no ſooner ſpoken, and univerſally agreed to by the *Legion*, but it was carried to the *Emperour*, who exaſperated with ſuch a generous reſolution, commanded a *ſecond decimation*, which was immediately executed, and the reſt as before commanded to return to *Octodurus*; hereupon *Exuperius* the *Enſign* catching up his colours, thus addreſs'd himſelf to them; You ſee me, *moſt excellent fellow-ſouldiers*, holding theſe *Enſigns* of ſecular warfare; but theſe are not the *arms* that I call you to, theſe are not the wars to which I excite your courage and valour; 'tis another kind of fighting that we are to chuſe; they are not theſe *ſwords* that

that must make our way into the *Heavenly* Kingdome; we stand in need of an undaunted mind, an invincible defence, a maintaining the Faith which we have given to God, to the very last.——Let the dismal Executioner go and carry this message to his bloody Master, and tell him thus: We are, *O Emperour*, your *Souldiers*, but withall (which we freely confess) the *Servants* of *God*; to you we owe military *service*, to him *innocency*; from you we have received *wages* for our labours, from him we had our very *lives* and *beings*: we cannot herein *obey* the Emperour, so as to *deny* God, the author of our lives, yea and of yours too, whether you will or no. Nor is it, Sir, any despair (which is always stoutest in greatest straits) that makes us thus resolute against you; we have, you see, *armes*, and yet make no resistance, chusing rather to *dye* than to *overcome*, and desirous rather to perish *innocent*, than to live *rebellious* and revengeful: If you have a mind to appoint us to any greater and severer torments, we are ready for them. *Christians* we are, and therefore cannot persecute those that are so. You must needs acknowledge Part 3.

Part 3. the unconquerable courage of this *Legion*; we throw down our arms, your officer will find our right hands naked, but our breast arm'd with a true Catholick Faith: kill us, and trample on us, we undauntedly yield our necks to the Executioners sword; these things are the more pleasant to us, while setting light by your sacrilegious attempts, we hasten apace to the Heavenly Crown.

Maximianus being told this, and despairing now to break their constancy, commands his whole Army to fall upon them and cut them off, which they did accordingly without any difference of age or person, mangling their bodies, and then taking the spoyles, the *Emperour* having so appointed, that whoever kill'd any of the *Legion*, should have the spoyles of him whom he killed. And thus they died with their swords in their hands, when they might have preserved their lives (especially in a place so advantageous) by force of arms, or to be sure have sold them at the dearest rate. This story I have been willing to set down the more at large, because so remarkable in all its circumstances, and containing

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the most unparallel'd instance of Christian Piety and submission (next to that of our blessed *Saviour*) that I think was ever known to the world. Part 3.

This is the account of those *Noble* Martyrs; only to prevent mistakes we are to take notice, that there was another *Mauritius* Commander of a *Legion* in the *East* (mentioned in the *Greek Menologies*) who together with seventy of his Souldiers were condemned by, and suffered under this self same Emperour *Maximianus*, for refusing to do sacrifice; their Martyrdome being recorded by *Simeon Metaphrastes*; but the account quite different both as to *persons* and *things* from that which is here related. *Menol. Grac. in μαρτ. xs. Ital. sub lit. λ.* *Apud Sur. ad diem 18 Jul. tom. 4.*

By what has been said we may see the injustice of that charge which the *Heathens* sometimes laid upon the *Christians*, that they were *disturbers* of the Peace, and *enemies* to Civil Government; an indictment so purely false, and without any shadow of a real pretence to cover it, that the *ingenious* Heathen in *Minutius Fœlix* (though raking up all the calumnies he could find, and putting the deepest dy upon every charge which wit and eloquence could

Part 3. could put upon it, yet) had not the face so much as once to mention it. But however, as groundless as it was, they were frequently charg'd with it. Sometimes they were accused of *dis-loyalty* and treason, either because they would not *swear* by the Emperours *Genius*, or not sacrifice for his *safety*, or not worship the *Emperours* as *Divi*, or gods, or not celebrate their *festivals* in the same way with others. For the first, their refusing to *swear* by the Emperours *Genius*, we have heard before what *Tertullian* answers to it, That it was in effect to give *divine* honour to *devils*. To the second, their not *sacrificing* for the Emperours *safety*, he answers, That none *sacrificed* to so good purpose as they, for that they offered up prayers to the True, Living and Eternal God for the safety of the *Emperours*, that God whom the *Emperours* themselves did above all others desire should be propitious and favourable to them, as from whom they knew they deriv'd their government. For the third, their refusing to own the *Emperours* for *gods*, he tells them, they could not do it, partly because they would not *lye* in saying so, partly because they durst not

Apol. c.30. p. 27.

Ibid. c. 33. p. 28. Vid. Theoph. Antioch. lib. 1. p. 76.

by

by doing it *mock* and deride the *Emperour*, nay, that he himself would not be willing to be styled *God*, if he remembred that he was a *Man*, it being mans interest to yield to God; that the title of *Emperour* was great enough, and that he could not be call'd *God*, without being denied to be Emperour; that he was therefore *great*, because *less* than Heaven; and that if he would needs be a *deity*, he must first conquer *Heaven*, lead *God* in triumph, set *Guards* in Heaven, and impose *tribute* upon that place. For the last, their not observing the solemn *festivals* of the *Emperours*, for which they were accounted enemies to the publick, they pleaded that their religion and their conscience could not comply with that *vanity*, that *luxury*, and *debauchery*, and all manner of excess and wickedness that was committed at those times; that the publick *joy* was expressed by that which was a publick *disgrace*, and those things accounted *honourable* upon the *solemn* days of Emperours, which were *unfit* and uncomly to be done upon *any* days; and that there was little reason they should be accused for not observing that, where *looseness* of manners was

Part 3.

Ibid. c. 30.

Ibid. c. 35. *p.* 28.

Part 3. accounted *loyalty*, and the occasion of *luxury* a part of *Religion*.

Otherwhiles they were accused of *sedition*, and holding *unlawful combinations*, which arose upon the account of their religious Assemblies, which their enemies beheld as *societies* erected contrary to the *Roman* Laws. That we may the better apprehend what these *societies* were (in the number whereof they reckoned the *Christian meetings*) and how condemned by the *Roman* Laws, we are to know, that in the infancy of the *Roman* Commonwealth, *Numa Pompilius*, to take away the difference between the *Sabines* and the *Romans*, divided the people into *Colledges* and little Corporations (answerable to which are *our City-Companies*) according to their several *trades* and occupations, Goldsmiths, Dyers, Potters, Curriers, *&c.* which together with the City encreased to a great number; (*Panciroll* out of both *Codes* gives us an account of thirty six) to these he assigned their several Halls, times of meeting, and sacred rites, and such immunities as were most proper for them. But besides these appointed by Law, several *Colledges* in imitation

Plut. in vit. Num. p. 71.

Append. ad Notit. Imper. fol. 197.

on of them were erected in most parts of the *Empire*, partly for the more convenient dispatch of business, but principally for the maintenance of mutual love and friendship. All these *Societies* had their solemn meetings, and customary *feasts*, which in time degenerated into great excess and luxury, insomuch that *Varro* in his time complained that the excess and prodigality of their suppers made provisions dear; and much more reason had *Tertullian* to complain of it in his time. Answerable to these *Colledges* amongst the *Romans*, were the ἑταιρείαι or *societies* amongst the *Grecians*, who also had their stated and common feasts, such were the Ἀνθεῖα amongst the *Cretians*, the Συσσίτια at *Lacedæmon*, and so in other States of *Greece*. But these meetings (those of them especially that were not setled either by the decree of the *Senate*, or the constitution of the Prince) partly by reason of their number, and the great confluence to them, partly by reason of their luxurious feasting, began to be looked upon by the State with a jealous eye, especially after that the *Commonwealth* was turned into a *Monarchy*, the Emperours

Part 3.

Collegiorum certa immutabili intendunt annonam. Var. apud Jac. Gothofr. in C. Th. lib. 16. Tit. 10. l. 20.

** Apol. c. 39. p. 32.*

Part 3. rours beholding them as fit *Nurseries* to plant and breed up treasonable and rebellious designs, and therefore frequently forbad them under very severe penalties. Thus *Julius Cæsar*, who first laid the foundation of the Empire, reduced these *Colledges* to the antient standard, putting down all that were *supernumerary* and *illegal*; wherein he was also followed by his Successour *Augustus*; and the succeeding Emperours very often put out strict *Edicts* against them, prohibiting them as *dangerous* and *unlawful* combinations.

Vid. lib. 47. ff. Tit. 22. de Colleg. & Corporib.

Sueton. in vit. Jul. Cæs. c. 42. p. 50. in Augus. c. 32. p. 155.

Under the notions of these *societies*, it was, that the *Christian* Congregations came to be forbidden; several persons confederated into a combination, and constantly meeting at a common feast rendring them suspicious to their enemies. Hence *Pliny* giving the Emperour an account of the *Christians*, and especially of their assembling at their solemn feasts of love, tells him, that they had forborn, ever since according to his command, he had published an *Edict* to forbid the *hetæriæ* or *societies*. And indeed the *Christian* Assemblies, whereat they usually had the *Lords Supper* and their *Love-feasts*, looking

Lib. 10. Epist. 97.

looking somewhat like those *illegal* meetings (especially as beheld with the eye of an *enemy*) it was the less wonder, if the Heathens accused them of hatching treason, and the Magistrates proceeded against them as contemners and violaters of the Law. Part 3.

But to this the *Christians* answered, that their *meetings* could not be accounted amongst the *unlawful factions*, having nothing common with them; that indeed the wisdom and providence of the State had justly prohibited such factions to prevent seditions, which might thence easily over-run and disquiet all Councels, Courts, pleadings, and all meetings whatsoever. But no such thing could be suspected of the *Christian* Assemblies, who were frozen as to any *ambitious designs* of honour or dignity, strangers to nothing more than publick affairs, and had renounced all pretences to *external pomps* and pleasures: That if the *Christian* Assemblies were like others, there would be some reason to condemn them under the notion of factions; but to whose prejudice (*say they*) did we ever *meet* together? we are the same when *together*, that we are when *asunder*; *Tertull. Apol. c. 38. p. 30.* *Ibid. c. 39. p. 32.*

Part 3. der; the same united, as is every single person, hurting no man, grieving no man; and therefore that when such honest, good, pious, and chast men met together, it was rather to be called a *Concel* than a *Faction*. To which *Origen* adds, That seeing in all their meetings they sought nothing but truth, they could not be said to conspire against the *Laws*, seeing they designed nothing but to get from under the power and tyranny of the *devil*, who had procured those Laws only to establish his Empire faster in the world. For elsewhere he bids *Celsus* or any of his party shew any thing that was *seditious* amongst the *Christians*; that their Religion arose not at first (as he falsly charg'd it) out of sedition, might appear in that their *Legislator* had so severely forbidden killing and murder, and that the *Christians* would never have entertained such mild Laws, as gave their enemies opportunity to kill them like sheep delivered to the slaughter without making the least resistance. Thus *Arnobius* confidently challenges the *Heathens* whether they could reject *Christianity* upon the account of its raising wars, tumults, and seditions

Contr. Celf. lib. 1. p. 5.

Lib. 3. p. 115.

Adv. Gent. lib. 2. p. 20.

seditions in the world. No, those Part. 2.
were things which they might find
nearer home: You *defame* us (says *Ter-*
tullian) with treason against the *Empe-*
rour, and yet never could any *Albinians*, *Ad Scap. c.*
Nigrians, or *Cassians* [persons that had *2. p. 69.*
mutinied and rebelled against the Em-
perours] be found amongst the *Christi-*
ans; they are those that swear by the
Emperours *genii*, that have offered sa-
crifices for their safety, that have often
condemned *Christians*, these are the
men that are found traitors to the *Em-*
perours: A Christian is *no* man's ene-
my, much less his *Prince's*; knowing him
to be constituted by God, he cannot
but love, revere, and honour him, and
desire that he and the whole *Roman*
Empire may be safe, as long as the
world lasts. We worship the *Empe-*
rour as much as is either *lawful* or *ex-*
pedient, as one that is next to God;
we *sacrifice* for his safety, but 'tis to
his and our God; and so as he has
commanded, *only* by holy prayer; for
the great God needs no blood or sweet
perfumes, these are the *banquets* and
repast of *devils*, which we do not only
reject, but *expel* at every turn. But to
say more concerning this, were to light

a

Part 3. a *candle* to the *Sun*: *Julian* the Emperour though no good friend to *Christians*, yet thus far does them right, that if they see any one *mutinying* against his *Prince*, they presently *punish* him with great severities.

Πλὴν ὅ γε τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ ἡμῖν ἀπόβλητος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐστιν ἀκροάσεων, ἀνὴρ κῶλα κολάζων. Julian. Fragm. Epist. Oper. pa. 1. p. 528.

And here we may with just reason reflect upon the iniquity of the Church of *Rome*, which in this instance of Religion has so abominably debauched the purity and simplicity of the *Christian* faith: For they not only exempt the *Clergy* where they can, from the authority and judgment of the *secular* powers, whereby horrible enormities do arise, but generally teach, that a Prince once *excommunicate*, his Subjects are absolv'd from all fealty and allegiance, and he may with impunity be deposed or made away. How shall such a Prince be thundred against with curses and deprivations, every bold and treacherous *Priest* be authorized to brand his sacred person with the odious names of *Infidel*, *Heretick* and *Apostate*, and be *Apostolically* licensed to slander and *belibell* him, and furnished with Commissions to free his Subjects from their duty and allegiance, and to allure them to take up arms against him? And if these

these courses fail, and men still continue loyal, they have disciples ready by *secret* or *suddain* arts to send him out of the world. And if any man's conscience be so nice as to boggle at it, his scruples shall be removed, at worst it shall pass for a *venial* crime, and the *Pope* perhaps (with the help of a limitation that it be done for the interest of the *Catholick* cause) by his *omnipotence* shall create it meritorious. Part 3.

Cardinal *Bellarmine* (whose wit and learning were imployed to uphold a tottering cause) maintains it stiffly, and in express terms, that if a *King* be an *Heretick* or an *Infidel* (and we know what they mean by that, nay he particularly names the *reformed* Princes of *England* amongst his instances) and seeks to draw his Dominions unto his Sect; it is not only *lawful*, but *necessary* to deprive him of his Kingdom. And although he knew that the whole course of antiquity would fly in the face of so *bold* an assertion, yet he goes on to assert, that the reason why the *Primitive Christians* did not attempt this upon *Nero*, *Diocletian*, *Julian* the Apostate and the like, was not out of *conscience*, or that they boggled out of

De Rom. Pontif. lib. 5. c. 7. Col. 801.

Part 3. a sense of duty, but because they wanted *means* and power to effect it. A bold piece of falshood this, and how contrary to the plain and positive Laws of *Christ*, to the meek and *primitive* spirit of the Gospel! But by the *Cardinals* leave it could not be for want of power, for if, as *Seneca* observes, he may be *Master* of any man's life that *undervalues* his own, it was then as easie for a *Christian* to have slain *Nero* or *Diocletian*, as it was of later times for *Gerard* to pistol the Prince of *Orange*, or *Ravillac* to stab the King of *France*. Nay, take one of his own instances, *Julian* the *Apostate*, a Prince bad enough, and that left no method unattempted to seduce his Subjects to *Paganism* and *Idolatry*, yet though the greatest part of his Army were *Christians*, they never so much as whispered a treasonable design against him, using no other *arms* (as we noted out of *Nazianzen*) but *prayers and tears*. Had S. *Paul* been of their mind, he would have told the *Christian Romans* quite another story, and instead of bidding them be subject to *Nero not only for wrath, but for conscience sake*, would have instructed them to take all opportunities

Epist. 4. *pag.* 9.

tunities to have murdered or deposed him. But I shall not reckon up the villanies they have been guilty of in this kind, nor pursue the odious and pernicious consequences of their doctrine and practice; thus much I could not but take notice of, being so immediately opposite to the whole tenor of the Gospel, and so great a scandal to *Christianity*. And I verily believe that had the Primitive *Christians* been no better *Subjects*, than their *Emperours* were *Princes*, had they practised on them those bloody artifices which have been common amongst those that call themselves the only *Catholicks*, that barbarous dealing would have been a greater curb to the flourishing of the Gospel, than all the *ten* persecutions. For how could an impartial *Heathen* ever have believed their doctrine to have been of God, had their actions been so contrary to all principles of natural Divinity. Sure I am *Pagan Rome* was in this case more *Orthodox*, and their *Pontifices* far better *Doctours* of *Divinity*: Their *Lex Julia* (as *Ulpian* their great Lawyer tells us) allotted the same penalty to *sacriledge* and *treason*; placing the one the very next step

Part 3.

Lib. 7. de offic. Proconsulis l. 1. ff. ad leg. Jul. maj.

Part 3. ſtep to the other; thereby teaching us that they looked upon treaſon againſt the Prince as an affront next to that which was immediately done againſt the Majeſty of Heaven. And *Marcellus* the great Stateſman in *Tacitus* lays it down for a *Maxim*, that *Subjects may wiſh for good Princes, but ought to bear with any.* And ſhame it is that any ſhould call themſelves *Chriſtians*, and yet be found worſe than they, their principles and practices more oppoſite to the known Laws of God and nature, more deſtructive to the peace and welfare of mankind.

Hiſtor. lib. 4. c. 8. p. 489.

CHAP. V.

Of their Penance, and the Diſcipline of the Antient Church.

This why laſt treated of. The Church as a Society founded by Chriſt has its diſtinct Laws and Priviledges. What the uſual offences that came under the Churches diſcipline. All immorality open, or confeſſed. Lapſing into Idolatry the great ſin of thoſe times. How many ways uſually committed. The Traditores *who, what their crime.*

What

What penalties inflicted upon delinquent persons. Delivering over to Satan, what: this extraordinary coercive power why vested in the Church. The common and standing penalty by Excommunication. This practised amongst the antient Gauls: *an account of it out of* Cæsar. *In use amongst the Jews. Thence derived to the Christians. This punishment how expressed by Church-writers: Managed according to the nature of the fault. The rigour of it sometimes mitigated. Delinquent Clergy-men degraded, and never admitted but to Lay-communion; instances of it. An account of the rise of Novatianism, and the severity of its principles; styl'd* Cathari; *condemn'd by the Synod at* Rome. *Offenders in what manner dealt with. The Procedure of the action described by* Tertullian. *Penitents how behaving themselves during their suspension. The greatest not spar'd, the case of* Philippus *and* Theodosius. *This severity why used. Penances called satisfactions, and why. The use of the word, satisfaction, in the antient Fathers. Penitents how absolved. After what time. In the power of Bi-* Part 3.

Part 3. *ſhops to extend or ſhorten theſe penitentiary humiliations. Four particular caſes obſerved wherein the time of penance might be ſhortned. In what ſence communion is denied by ſome antient Canons to penitents at the hour of death. This diſcipline adminiſtred primarily by Biſhops. By his leave Presbyters and (in neceſſity) Deacons might abſolve. The publick penitentiary when and why inſtituted; when and why laid aſide. Penitents taken into communion by Martyrs and Confeſſors. This power abuſed to exceſs.* Cyprian's *complaint of the exceſſive numbers of Libells of peace granted by the Martyrs to the lapſed, without the knowledge of the Biſhop. The form of theſe Pacifick Libells exemplified out of* Cyprian; *other ſorts of Libells. The* Libellatici *who.* Thurificati. *Several ſorts of* Libellatici. *The* Libellatici *properly ſo called. Their manner of addreſs to the Heathen Magiſtrate to procure their exemption from ſacrificing. That they did not privately deny Chriſt, proved againſt* Baronius. *The piety and purity of the Primitive Church matter of juſt admiration.*

Having

HAving travelled through the ſeveral ſtages of the ſubject I had undertaken; I ſhould here have ended my journey, but that there one thing remains, which was not properly reducible under any particular head; being of a general relation to the whole; and that is to conſider what **Diſcipline** was uſed towards offenders in the antient Church; only premiſing this, that the Chriſtian Church being founded and eſtabliſhed by *Chriſt* as a *Society* and Corporation *diſtinct* from that of the Common-wealth, is by the very nature of its conſtitution (beſides what poſitive ground and warrant there may be for it in *Scripture*) inveſted with an *inherent* power (beſides what is borrowed from the *Civil* Magiſtrate) of cenſuring and puniſhing its members that offend againſt the Laws of it, and this in order to the maintaining its peace and purity: For without ſuch a fundamental power as this, 'tis impoſſible that as a Society it ſhould be able to ſubſiſt, the very nature of a community neceſſarily implying ſuch a right inherent in it. Now for the better underſtanding what

Part 3. this power was, and how exercised in the first Ages of the Church, we shall consider these four things: What were the usual *crimes* that came under the discipline of the antient Church; what *penalties* were inflicted upon delinquent persons; in what *manner* offenders were dealt with; and by *whom* this discipline was administred.

First, What the usual *crimes* and offences were which came under the discipline of the antient Church; in the general they were any offences against the *Christian* Law, any vice or *immorality* that was either *publick* in it self, or made known and made good to the Church. For the holy and good *Christians* of those times were infinitely careful to keep the honour of their Religion unspotted, to stifle every sin in its birth, and by bringing offenders to publick shame and penalty to keep them from propagating the malignant influence of a bad example. For this reason they watched over one another, told them *privately* of their faults and failures, and when that would not do, brought them before the *cognizance* of the Church. 'Tis needless to reckon up particular crimes, when none were

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This way of punishing by excommunication was not originally instituted by our *Lord* or his Apostles, but had been antiently practised both amongst *Jews* and *Gentiles*. 'Twas commonly practised by the *Druids* (as *Cæsar* who lived amongst them informs us) who, when any of the people became irregular and disorderly, presently *suspended* them from their sacrifices. And the persons thus suspended were accounted

De Bell. Gall. lib. 6. p. 135.

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Part 3. oft expresses it, ἀκοινώνητος τῆς κοινωνίας παντάπασιν, to be *wholly cut off* from Communion, as 'tis in the *Apostolick* Canons. Sometimes ἐκπίπτειν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, as the *Laodicean* Synod calls it, to be *thrown* out of the Church; to be *anathematiz'd*, and without the Communion and pale of the Church, as the Fathers of the Councel of *Gangra* have it.

Can. 28.

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Epist. ad Armen. Episc. præfix. Conc. Gangr.

This suspension and the penance that accompanied it was greater or less, longer or shorter according to the nature of the crime, sometimes two, three, ten, fifteen, twenty or thirty years, and sometimes for the whole life; nay, in some cases it was not taken off at death, but persons were left to the judgement of God, without any testimony of their reconciliation to the Church. Though herein the severity was mitigated, not only by private Bishops, but by the great Councel of *Nice*, which ordain'd that penitent persons should not be denied the Communion at the *hour* of death: of all which cases, or the most material of them, we have in the foregoing discourse produc'd particular instances in their proper places. If the person offending hapned to be in *Orders*,

ders, he forfeited his Ministry; and though upon his repentance he was restored to Communion, yet it was only as a *lay-person*, never recovering the honour and dignity of his office. Thus *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome* giving *Fabius* of *Antioch* an account of the clancular and *Schismatical* Ordination of *Novatian*, tells him, that one of the Bishops that ordain'd him return'd after to the Church, with tears bewailing his offence, whom at the instance of the people he receiv'd unto *Lay-communion*. The same *Cyprian* writing about this very case relates of *Trophimus* (who who was either the very Bishop mentioned by *Cornelius*, or one of his Colleagues) that returning to the Church with great demonstrations of repentance, he was re-admitted, but no otherwise than in the capacity of a Layman: and speaking elsewhere of *Basilides* his repentance, he tells us he had no thoughts of retaining his Bishoprick, making account he was very well dealt with, if upon his repentance he might but communicate as a *Laick*, and be received amongst the number of the *Faithful*. This *S. Basil* tells us was an ancient *Canon* and practice of the

Part 3.

Apud Euseb. H. Eccl. lib. 6. c. 43. p. 243.

Epist. 52. p. 69.

Epist. 68. p. 114.

Epist. Can. ad Amphil. Can. 3. p. 22. vid. Zonar. & Balsam. in Can. 10. Conc. Nicen.

Part 3. the Church, and accordingly ordains, that a *Deacon* guilty of fornication ſhould be depoſed from his office, and being thruſt down into the rank of the *Laity*, ſhould in that quality be admitted to Communion.

Indeed they ſtrove by all ways imaginable to diſcourage ſin, never thinking the curb ſtrong enough, ſo they might but keep perſons within the bounds of order and regularity; inſomuch that by ſome the ſtring was ſtretched too far, and all pardon denied to them that had ſin'd. This uncomfortable doctrine was if not firſt *coin'd*, yet mainly *vended* by the *Novatian* party. For *Novatus S. Cyprians* Preſbyter being ſuſpended by him for his vile enormities fled over to *Rome*, and there joyn'd himſelf to *Novatian* a Preſbyter of that Church (theſe two names are frequently confounded by the *Greek* Writers) who ambitiouſly ſought to make himſelf Biſhop, and to thruſt out *Cornelius* newly elected into that See; but not being able to compaſs his deſign, between them they ſtarted this amongſt other *heretical* opinions, that the lapſed who through fear of ſuffering had fallen in the time of per-

Euſeb. ubi ſupr. p. 242 Epiphan. Hæreſ. 59. contr. Catharos, p. 314.

perſecution were not to be admitted to repentance, and that though they ſhould never ſo oft confeſs their ſins, and never ſo ſincerely forſake them, yet there was no hope of ſalvation for them, at leaſt-wiſe (for ſo I incline to underſtand them) that it was not in the power of the *Church* to abſolve or give them any hopes of pardon, leaving them to the judgement of God; ſtyling themſelves (and not only as *Balſamon* affirms, *ironically* ſtyl'd by others) by the name of *Cathari*, the *pure* and undefiled party. But they were herein preſently condemned by a *Synod* of ſixty Biſhops, and more than as many Preſbyters and Deacons gathered at *Rome* (and the Decree conſented to and publiſhed by the reſt of the Biſhops in their ſeveral Provinces) concluding that *Novatus* and his party, and all that had ſubſcribed to his moſt *inhumane* and mercileſs Opinion, ſhould be caſt out of the Church; and that the brethren who in that ſad calamity had fallen from their profeſſion, ſhould be healed and reſtored by the arts and methods of repentance. Which brings us to conſider,

In Can. 8. Conc. Nic.

Part 3.

Thirdly,

Part 3. *Thirdly*, How and in what *manner* offenders were dealt with, both as to their *suspension* and *penance*, and as to their *absolution*. This affair was usually managed after this order; At their publick assemblies (as we find in *Tertullian*) amongst other parts of their holy exercises, there were exhortations, reproofs, and a *divine censure*; for the judgment is given with great weight, as amongst those that are sure that God beholds what they do; and this is one of the highest *præludiums* and forerunners of the *judgement* to come, when the delinquent person is banished from the *Communion* of *Prayers*, *Assemblies*, and all holy *Commerce*. By this passage we clearly see, that the first thing in this solemn action was to make *reproofs* and *exhortations*, thereby to bring the offender to the sight and acknowledgement of his faults; then the *sentence* or *censure* was passed upon him, whereby he was suspended, not only from the Communion of the Holy *Eucharist*, but from all holy commerce in any (especially *publick*) duty of religion. We cannot imagine, that in every person that stood under this capacity, a *formal* sentence was always denounced a-

Apol. 39. *p.* 31.

gainst

gainſt him, it being many times ſufficient that the fact he had done was evident and *notorious*, as in the caſe of the *lapſed* that had offered ſacrifice, for in this caſe the offender was look'd upon as *ipſo facto* excommunicate, and all religious commerce forborn towards him. 'Tis true, that in ſome caſes the *Martyrs* (as we ſhall ſee more anon) finding ſuch lapſed perſons truly penitent did receive them into *private* Communion, ſo did thoſe Martyrs *Dionyſius Alexandrinus* ſpeaks of in his Letter to *Fabius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, they took the penitents that had fallen into idolatry into their company, and Communicated with them both at *Prayers* and *Meals*; but to *publick* Communion they were never admitted till they had exactly fulfilled the diſcipline of the Church, which principally conſiſted in many ſevere acts of repentance and mortification, more or leſs according to the nature of the offence. Part 3.

Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 6. c. 42. p. 241.

During this ſpace of penance they appeared in all the formalities of ſorrow and mourning, in a ſordid and ſqualid habit, with a ſad countenance, and a head hung down, with tears in their eyes, ſtanding without at the *Church*

Tert. de pœnitent. c. 9. p. 127. Vid. Euſeb. lib. 5. c. 28. p. 197.

Part 3. *Church doors*, (for they were not suffered to enter in) falling down upon their knees to the Ministers as they went in, and begging the prayers of all good *Christians* for themselves, with all the expressions and demonstrations of a sorrowful and dejected mind; reckoning the lower they lay in repentance, the higher it would exalt them; the more sordid they appeared, the more they should be cleansed and purified; the less they spared themselves, the more God would spare them: at these times also they made open *confession* of their faults, this being accounted the very spring of repentance, and without which they concluded it could not be real, *Out of confession* (says *Tertullian*) *is born repentance, and by repentance God is pacified*; and therefore without this neither riches nor honour would procure any admission into the Church. Thus *Eusebius* reports, that when *Philippus* the Emperour would have gone in with the rest of the *Christians* upon *Easter-eve* to have partaked of the prayers of the Church, the Bishop of the place would by no means suffer it, unless he first made confession of his sins, and passed through the order of the

Ibid.

Ibid. lib. 6. c. 34. p. 232.

the *Penitents*, being guilty of very great and enormous sins; which 'tis said he very willingly submitted to, testifying by his actions his real and religious fear of the Divine Majesty. This story, though as to the main of it, it might be true, yet as fastned upon *Philip* the Emperour, I have formerly shewed it to be false, and that it's rather meant of one *Philippus* who was Governour in *Egypt*, and professed himself a *Christian*; but however this was, 'tis certain that a person as great as he, *Theodosius* the *Great*, for his bloody and barbarous slaughter of the *Thessalonians* was by *S. Ambrose* Bishop of *Millain* suspended, brought to publick confession, and forced to undergo a severe course of penance for eight months together; when after great demonstrations of a hearty sorrow, and sincere repentance, not more rigidly imposed upon him, than readily and willingly received by him, after his usual prostrations in the Church (as if unworthy either to stand or kneel) crying out in the words of *David*, *My soul cleaveth unto the dust, quicken thou me according to thy word*, after having oft torn his hair, beat his forehead, water'd his cheeks with *tears*, Part 3.

Part 3. and humbly beg'd peace and pardon, he was absolved, and restored to Communion with the Church; of which passage they who would know more, may find the story largely related by *Theodoret.* *H. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 15.*

This severity was used towards offenders, partly to make them more sensible of their sins, partly to affright and deterr others, but principally to give *satisfaction* both to God and his Church concerning the reality and sincerity of their repentance. Hence it is that these *Penances*, in the Writings of those times are so often called *satisfactions*; for whenever those Fathers use the word, 'tis either with respect to *men* or *God*; if to *men*, then the meaning is, that by these external acts of sorrow and mortification they *satisfie* the Church of their repentance, and make reparation for those offences and scandals which they had given by their sins: If to *God*, then 'tis taken for the acknowledgement of a mans fault, and the begging of pardon and remission: Thus *Cyprian* speaking of the state of impenitent sinners, aggravates it by this, that they do *pec-* *Aug. Enchirid. c. 65. tom. 3.* *De Lapſ. p. 177.*

care,

care, nec ſatisfacere, ſin, but make no ſatisfaction, *i. e.* (as in the very next words he explains it) they do not *peccata deflere*, confeſs and bewail their ſins; and before, diſcourſing about Gods being the only object of tears and ſorrow for ſin, which is to be addreſſed to God and not man, he tells us 'tis God that is to be appeaſed by ſatisfaction, that he being greatly offended is to be intreated by a long and full repentance, as being alone able to pardon thoſe ſins that are committed againſt him: So that the ſatisfaction which they reckon'd they made to God conſiſted in ſeeking to avert his diſpleaſure, and to regain his forfeited favour by a deep contrition and ſorrow for ſin, by a real acknowledgement and forſaking of their faults, and by an humble giving to God the glory both of his mercy and his juſtice. Thence confeſſion is called by *Tertullian* the *Counſel* or Intendment of ſatisfaction: And a little after he deſcribes it thus; *Confeſſion* (ſays he) *is that whereby we acknowledge our offence to God, not as if he were ignorant of it, but inaſmuch as by confeſſion ſatisfaction is forwarded, by confeſſion repentance is produced, and by* Part 3.

Ibid. p. 173.

Tert. de pœnitent. c. 8. p. 126, 127.

Part 3. *repentance God is appeased.* The same both he, *Cyprian* and others, frequently use in the same sence; which I note the rather, because of that absurd and impious doctrine, so currant amongst the *Papists*, and which they pretend to derive from these very Fathers, that by works of penance *compensation* is made to God for the debt of punishment that was contracted, whereby at least the temporal penalties due to sin are *meritoriously* expiated and done away. But this besides that it is flatly repugnant to the doctrine of *antiquity*, how much 'tis derogatory to the *honour* of divine grace, and the *infinite* satisfaction of the *Son* of God, I shall not now stand to dispute. To return therefore; This term of penance was usually exacted with great rigour, and seldom dispensed with, no indulgence or admission being granted till the full time was compleated. Therefore *Cyprian* smartly chides with some *Presbyters* who had taken upon them to absolve the lapsed before their time, and that whereas in lesser offences men were obliged to the just time of penance, and to observe the order of discipline, they in a crime of so heinous a nature

Epist. 9. p. 21.

a nature had hand over head admitted them to Communion before they had gone through their penance and confession, and fulfilled the regular customes and orders of the Church. Part 3.

The time of penance being ended, they addressed themselves to the Governours of the Church for *Absolution*, hereupon their repentance was taken into examination, and being found to be sincere and real, they were openly re-admitted into the Church by the imposition of the hands of the Clergy, the party to be absolv'd kneeling down between the knees of the *Bishop*, or in his absence of the *Presbyter*, who laying his hand upon his head solemnly blessed and absolved him, whence doubtless sprang that absurd and senceless calumny which the *Heathens* laid upon the *Christians*, that they were wont *Sacerdotis colere genitalia*; so forward were they to catch at any reproach which the most crooked and malicious invention could insinuate and suggest: The penitent being absolved, was received with the universal joy and acclamation of the people, as one returned from the state of the *dead* (for such 'tis plain they accounted them *Cypr. Epist.* 11. *p.* 24.

Part 3. while under a ſtate of guilt, eſpecially the lapſed, as *Cyprian* poſitively affirms them to be) being embraced by his brethren, who bleſſed God for his return, and many times *wept* for the joy of his recovery, who upon his abſolution was now reſtored to a participation of the *Lords* Supper, and to all other acts of Church-Communion, which by his crimes he had forfeited, and from which he had been ſuſpended, till he had given ſatisfactorie evidence of his repentance, and purpoſe to perſevere under the exact diſcipline of Chriſtianity. This was the ordinary way wherein they treated *criminals* in the Primitive Church; but in caſes of neceſſity (ſuch as that of danger of death) they did not rigidly exact the ſet time of penance, but abſolved the perſon, that ſo he might dye in the peace and communion of the Church. The ſtory of *Serapion* at *Alexandria* we have formerly mentioned, who being ſuddainly ſurpriz'd with death while he was under the ſtate of penance, and not being able to dye till he had received abſolution, ſent for the Preſbyter to teſtifie his repentance and abſolve him; but he being alſo at that time ſick, ſent him

Id. Epiſt. 27. *p.* 39. *Vid. Epiſt.* 46. *p.* 69.

Euſeb. H. Eccl. lib. 6. *c.* 44. *p.* 246.

him a part of the *Consecrated* elements, which he had by him, upon the receiving whereof he breathed out his soul with great comfort and satisfaction that he now died in Communion with the Church. Part 3.

The truth is, the time of these *Penitentiary* humiliations often varied according to the circumstances of the case, it being much in the power of the Bishops and Governours of the Church to shorten the time, and sooner to absolve and take them into Communion, the *Medicinal* vertue of repentance lying not in the *duration*, but the *manner* of it, as *S. Basil* speaks in this very case. *Can. 2. ad Amphil.*

A learned man has observed to my hand four particular cases wherein they were wont to *anticipate* the usual time of absolution: The first was (what I observed but now) when persons were in danger of death; this was agreed to by *Cyprian*, and the Martyrs, and the *Roman* Clergy, and the Letters (as he *tells* us) sent through the whole World to all the Churches; this also was provided for by the great Councel of *Nice*, That as for those that were at the point of death, the ancient and *Canonical* rule should be observed still, that when *Forbes. instruct. Hist. Th. lib. 12. c. 7. p. 674.* *Epist. 52. ad Antonian. p. 67.* *Can. 13.*

Part 3. any were at the point of death they ſhould by no means be deprived of the laſt and neceſſary *Viaticum*, *i. e.* the Holy Sacrament, which was their great *Symbol* of Communion. And here for the better underſtanding ſome paſſages it may not be unuſeful once for all to add this note, that whereas many of the ancient *Canons* (of the *Illiberine* Councel eſpecially) poſitively deny communion to ſome ſorts of penitents even at the *hour* of death, they are not to be underſtood, as if the Church mercileſly denied all *indulgence* and abſolution to any penitent at ſuch a time, but only that it was thought fit to deny them the uſe of the *Euchariſt*, which was the great *pledge* and teſtimony of their communion with the Church.

The ſecond eaſe was in time of *eminent* perſecution, conceiving it but fit at ſuch times to diſpenſe with the rigour of the diſcipline, that ſo *Penitents* being received to the *Grace* of *Chriſt*, and to the communion of the Church, might be the better armed and enabled *to contend earneſtly for the Faith*. This was reſolved and agreed upon by *Cyprian*, and a whole Councel of *African* Biſhops, whereof they give an account

Epiſt. 54. *p.* 76.

to

to *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome*, that in regard persecution was drawing on, they held it convenient and necessary, that communion and reconciliation should be granted to the *lapsed*, not only to those that were a *dying*, but even to the *living*, that they might not be left naked and unarmed in the time of battel, but be able to defend themselves with the shield of *Christs* body and blood. For how (*say they*) shall we teach and perswade them to shed *their* blood in the Cause of *Christ*, if we deny them the benefit of *his* blood? How shall we make them fit to drink the *cup* of martyrdom, unless we first admit them in the Church to a right of communication to drink of the *cup* of the blood of *Christ*? A third case wherein they relaxed the severity of this discipline was, when great *multitudes* were concerned, or such persons as were likely to draw great numbers after them; in this case they thought it *prudent* and reasonable to deal with persons by somewhat milder and gentler methods, lest by holding them to terms of rigour and austerity, they should provoke them to fly off either to *Heathens* or to *Hereticks*. This course

Part 3.

Part 3. course *Cyprian* tells us he took, he complied with the necessity of the times, and like a wise Physician yielded a little to the humour of the patient, to provide for his health, and to cure his wounds; and quotes herein the example of *Cornelius* of *Rome*, who dealt just so with *Trophimus* and his party; and elsewhere, that out of an earnest desire to regain and resettle the brethren, he was ready to connive at many things, and to forgive any thing, and did not examine and exact the greatest crimes with that full power & severity that he might, insomuch that he thought he did almost *offend* himself in an over-liberal remitting other mens *offences*. Lastly, in absolving penitents, and mitigating the rigours of their repentance, they used to have respect to the *person* of the penitent, to his *Dignity*, or *Age*, or *Infirmity*, or the *course* of his past life; sometimes to the greatness of his *Humility*, and the impression which his present condition made upon him. Thus the *Ancyran* Councel impowers Bishops to examine the manner of mens Conversion and Repentance, and accordingly either to moderate, or enlarge their time of penance, but especially

Epist. 52. ubi prius.

Epist. 55. p. 85.

Can. 5. vid. Conc. Nicen. Can. 12.

cially that regard be had to their Converſation both before and ſince their offence, that ſo clemency and indulgence may be extended to them. So for the caſe of perſons of more than ordinary *rank* and *dignity*, or of a more tender and delicate *conſtitution*, *Chryſoſtome* determines, that in chaſtiſing and puniſhing their offences they be dealt withall in a more peculiar manner than other men, leſt by holding them under over-rigorous penalties they ſhould be tempted to fly out into deſpair, and ſo throwing off the reins of modeſty, and the care of their own happineſs and ſalvation, ſhould run headlong into all manner of vice and wickedneſs. So wiſely did the prudence and piety of thoſe times deal with offenders, neither letting the reins ſo looſe as to patronize *preſumption*, or encourage any man to ſin, nor yet holding them ſo ſtrait, as to drive men into *deſpair*.

Part 3.

De ſacerdot. lib. 2. *c.* 4. *p.* 18. *Tom.* 4.

The fourth and laſt circumſtance concerns the *Perſons* by whom this diſcipline was adminiſtred; now though 'tis true that this affair was managed in the *Publick* Congregation, and ſeldom or never done without the conſent and appro-

Part 3. approbation of the people (as *Cyprian* more than once and again expresly tells us) yet was it ever accounted a *ministerial* act, and properly belonged to them. *Tertullian* speaking of Church censures, adds, that the *Elders* that are approv'd, and have attain'd that honour, not by purchase but testimony, *preside* therein; and *Firmilian* Bishop of *Cæsarea Cappadocia* in a Letter to *S. Cyprian* speaking of the *Majores natu*, the *Seniors* that preside in the Church, tells us, that to them belongs the power of *baptizing*, *imposing hands*, (*viz.* in penance) and *ordination*. By the *Bishop* it was primarily and usually administred, the determining the time and manner of repentance, and the conferring pardon upon the penitent sinner, being acts of the *highest* power and jurisdiction, and therefore reckoned to appertain to the highest order in the Church. Therefore 'tis provided by the *Illiberine* Councel, that penance shall be prescribed by none but the *Bishop*; only in case of necessity, such as sickness, and danger of death, by leave and command from the Bishop, the *Presbyter* or *Deacon* might impose penance and absolve. Accordingly we find

Apol. c. 39.

Can. 32. p. 40.

find *Cyprian* amongst other directions to his Clergy how to carry themselves towards the lapsed, giving them this, that if any were over-taken with sickness, or present danger, they should not stay for his coming, but the sick person should make confession of his sins to the next *Presbyter*, or, if a Presbyter could not be met with, to a *Deacon*, that so laying hands upon him he might depart in the *peace* of the Church. Part 3. *Epist.* 12. *p.* 25. *Vid. Conc.* 2. *Carthag. Can.* 4.

But though while the number of Christians was small, and the bounds of particular Churches little, Bishops were able to manage these and other parts of their office in their own persons, yet soon after the task began to grow too great for them; and therefore about the time of the *Decian* persecution, when Christians were very much multiplyed, and the number of the lapsed great, it seem'd good to the prudence of the Church partly for the ease of the Bishop, and partly to provide for the modesty of persons in being brought before the whole Church to confess every crime, to appoint a *publick penitentiary* (some holy, grave, and prudent *Presbyter*) whose office it was to take the confession of those sins which

Part 3. which persons had committed after *baptism*, and by prayers, fastings, and other exercises of mortification to prepare them for absolution. He was a kind of *Censor morum*, to enquire into the lives of *Christians*, to take an account of their failures, and to direct and dispose them to repentance. This Office continued for some hundreds of years, till it was abrogated by *Nectarius* (*S. Chrysostomes* predecessor in the See of *Constantinople*) upon the occasion of a notorious scandal that arose about it. A woman of good rank and quality had been with the *Penitentiary*, and confessed all her sins committed since baptism; he enjoyn'd her to give up her self to fasting and prayer; but not long after she came to him, and confessed, that while she was conversant in the Church to attend upon those holy exercises, she had been tempted to commit folly and lewdness with a *Deacon* of the Church, whereupon the *Deacon* was immediately cast out; but the people being exceedingly troubled at the scandal, and the Holy Order hereby exposed to the scorn and derision of the Gentiles, *Nectarius* by the advice of *Eudæmon* a Presbyter of that Church wholly

Socrat. H. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 19. p. 278. Confer Sozom. lib. 7. c. 16. p. 726.

wholly took away the Office of the publick *Penitentiary*, leaving every one to the care and liberty of his own conscience to prepare himself for the Holy Sacrament. This account *Socrates* assures us he had from *Eudæmon's* own mouth; and *Sozomen* adds, that almost all Bishops follow'd *Nectarius* his example in abrogating this Office. Part 3.

But besides the ordinary and standing office of the Clergy, we find even some of the Laity, the *Martyrs* and *Confessors*, that had a considerable hand in *absolving* penitents, and restoring them to the communion of the Church. For the understanding of which we are to know, that as the Christians of those times had a mighty reverence for *Martyrs* and Confessors as the great Champions of Religion, so the *Martyrs* took upon them to dispense in extraordinary cases; for it was very customary in times of persecution for those who through fear of suffering had lapsed into Idolatry to make their address to the Martyrs in prison, and to beg peace of them, that they might be restored to the Church; who considering their petitions, and weighing the circumstances of their case did frequent-

Part 3. quently grant their requests, mitigate their penance, and by a *note* signed under their hands signifie what they had done to the Bishop, who taking an account of their condition, absolved and admitted them to communion. Of these *Libelli*, or Books granted by the *Martyrs* to the *lapsed*, there is mention in *Cyprian* at every turn, who complains they were come to that excessive number, that *thousands* were granted almost every day; this many of them took upon them to do with great smartness and authority, and without that respect that was due to the Bishops, as appears from the *note* written to *Cyprian* by *Lucian* in the name of the *Confessors*; which because 'tis but short, and withall shews the form and manners of those *pacifick Libells*, it may not be amiss to set it down; and thus it runs; *All the Confessors to* Cyprian *the Bishop, Greeting: Know that we have granted peace to all those, of whom you have had an account what they have done, how they have behaved themselves since the commission of their crimes; and we would that these presents should by you be imparted to the rest of the Bishops: We wish you to maintain peace with the holy Martyrs:*

Epist. 10, 11, 12. & alii.

Epist. 14. p. 27.

Epist. 16. p. 29.

Martyrs; Written by Lucian; *of the Clergy, the Exorcist and Reader being present.* This was looked upon as very peremptory and magisterial, and therefore of this confidence and presumption, and carelesness in promiscuously granting these *letters of peace*, *Cyprian* not without reason complains in an Epistle to the Clergy of *Rome*. Part 3.

Epist. 22. *p.* 34.

Besides these Libells granted by the Martyrs, there were other *Libelli* granted by Heathen-Magistrates (of which it may not be impertinent to speak a little) whence the lapsed that had had them were commonly called *Libellatici*, and they were of several sorts; some writing their names *in Libellis* in Books, and professing themselves to worship *Jupiter*, *Mars*, and the rest of the Heathen Gods, presented them to the Magistrate; and these did *really* sacrifice, and pollute not their *souls* only but their *hands* and their *lips* with unlawful sacrifices, as the Clergy of *Rome* expresses it in a letter to S. *Cyprian*; these were called *Thurificati*, and *Sacrificati*, from their having offered incense and sacrifices. Somewhat of this nature was that *Libell* that *Pliny* speaks off in his Epistle to the

Epist. 31. *p.* 44. *Ad Antonian. Epist.* 52. *p.* 66, 67.

Epist. 97. *lib.* 10.

Part 3. Emperour *Trajan*, presented to him while he was *Proconsul* of *Bithynia*, containing a Catalogue of the names of many, some whereof had been accused to be *Christians* and denied it, others confessed they had been so some years since but had renounced it; all of them adoring the Images of the gods, and the Emperours Statue, offering sacrifice, and *blaspheming Christ*; and were accordingly dismissed and released by him. Others there were who did not *themselves* sign or present any such *Libells*, but some Heathen-friends for them (and sometimes out of kindness they were encouraged to it by the Magistrates themselves) and were hereupon released out of prison, and had the favour not to be urged to sacrifice. Nay, *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* speaks of some Masters, who to escape themselves compelled their *servants* to do sacrifice for them, to whom he appoints a three years penance for that sinful compliance and dissimulation. A third sort there was, who finding the edge and keenness of their *Judges* was to be taken off with a sum of *money*, freely confessed to them that they were Christians and could not sacrifice,

Epist 31. *p.* 44.

Can. 7. *Synodic Tom.* 2. *pa.* 1. *p.* 12.

office, pray'd them to give them a *Libel* of dismission, for which they would give them a suitable reward: These were most properly called *Libellatici* and *Libellati*. *Cyprian* acquaints us with the manner of their address to the Heathen Magistrate, bringing in such a person thus speaking for himself: I had both *read* and *learnt* from the Sermons of the *Bishop*, that the servant of God is not to *sacrifice* to Idols, nor to *worship* Images; wherefore that I might not do what was unlawful, having an opportunity of getting a *Libell* offered, (which yet I would not have accepted had it not offered it self) I went to the Magistrate, or caused another to go in my name and tell him, that I was a *Christian*, and that it was not lawful for me to sacrifice, nor to approach the altars of the Devils, that therefore I would give him a reward to excuse me, that I might not be urged to what was unlawful. These though not altogether so bad as the *Sacrificati*, yet *Cyprian* charges as guilty of *implicit* Idolatry, having defiled their consciences with the purchase of these Books, and done that by *consent*, which others had *actually* done. Part 3. *Epist.* 52. *p.* 70.

Part 3. I know *Baronius* will needs have it (& he boasts that all that had written before him were mistaken in the case) that these *Libellatici* were not exempted from denying Christ, nor gave mony to that end; that they only requested of the Magistrate, that they might not be compelled to offer sacrifice, that they were ready to *deny Christ*, and were willing to give him a reward to dispence with them only so far, and to furnish them with a *Libell* of security, and that they did really deny him before they obtained their *Libell*. But nothing can be more plain both from this and several other passages in *Cyprian*, than that they did not either *publickly* or *privately* sacrifice to Idols, or actually *deny* Christ; and therefore bribed the Magistrate, that they might not be forced to do what was unlawful. And hence *Cyprian* argues them as guilty by their *wills* and *consent*, and that they had *implicitly* denied *Christ*, how? by *actually* doing it? No, but by *pretending* they had done what others were really guilty of. Certainly the *Cardinals* mistake arose from a not right understanding the several sorts of the *Libellatici*, the first where-

Annal. Eccl. ad Ann. CCLIII. Num. XX. & sequ.

De Lapsis, p. 176.

of

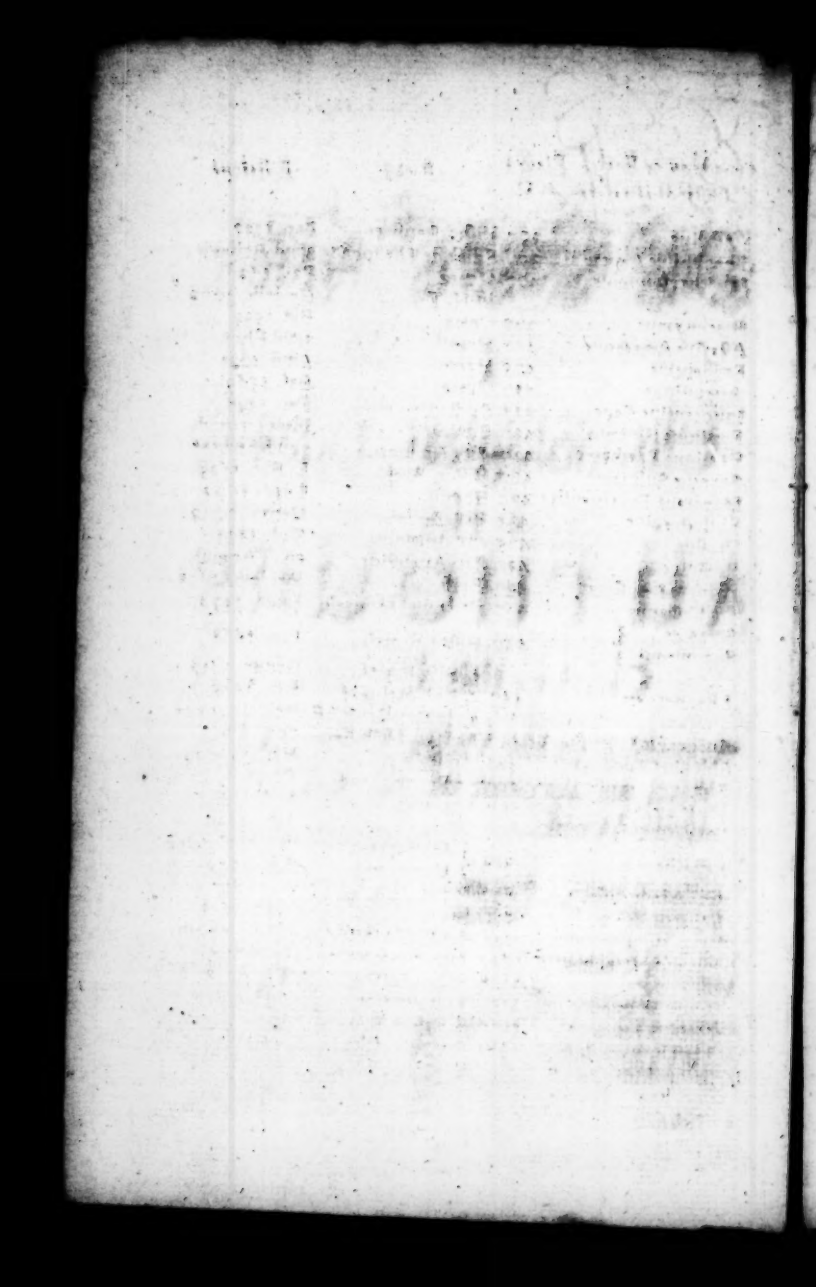
of (as we have shewn) did *actually* Part 3.
sacrifice and deny *Christ*.

And now having taken this view of the severity of discipline in the antient Church, nothing remains but to *admire* and *imitate* their piety and integrity, their infinite hatred of sin, their care and zeal to keep up that strictness and purity of manners that had rendred their Religion so renowned and triumphant in the world: A discipline, which how happy were it for the *Christian* world, were it again reflected in its due power and vigour, which particularly is the *judgment* and *desire* of our *own Church* concerning the solemn *Quadragesimal* Penances and Humiliations; *In the Primitive Church* (says the *Preface* to the Communication) *there was a godly Discipline, that at the beginning of Lent, such persons as stood convicted of notorious sin were put to open penance, and punished in this world, that their souls might be saved in the day of the Lord; and that others admonished by their example, might be the more afraid to offend: Which said Discipline it is much to be wished might be restored again.*

FINIS.

Errata Part. 2, 3.

PAge 30. line 3. for *frs* read *sins*. p. 35. l. 7. r. *Nola*. p. 55. l. last r. *sights*. p. 92. over against l. 7. add in the marg. *de Virg. sit & aud.* p. 74. Tom. 1. p. 107. l. 5. r. *Arabi-lachum*. p. 156. l. 23. r. *Israelital*. p. 166. over against l. 2. for *lib.* r. *leg.* as also p. 167. p. 170. l. 4. after *we*, add, *are*. p. 214. over against l. 8. r. p. 528. p. 303. marg. over against l. 26. after *me*, add, *Innes*. p. 307. l. 24. after *with*, add, *the*. p. 430. marg. over against l. 10. add, *inter Epist. Cypr.* p. 148. the *Errata* in the Contents are amended in those before the Book. Some few other literal mistakes, and false pointings are left to the Readers care and ingenuity to amend.



A

Chronological Index

OF THE

AUTHOURS

Cited in this Book,

According to the Vulgar Computation; with an account of the Editions of their Works.

Christian or Ecclesiastical Writers	*Flourish'd An. Dom.*	*Books*	*Editions*
Apostlor. { Canones; Constitutiones }			{ Par. 1618
Clemens Romanus	70	Epist. ad Cor.	Oxon. 1633
Dionysius Areopagita		Opera.	Antw. 1634
Ignatius Antiochenus	101	Epistolæ.	Amster. 1646
		Append. Usher.	Lond. 1647
Polycarpus	130	Epistol.	apud Eused. Abdias

Christian or Eccles. Writers	Flourish'd An. Dom.	Books	Editions
Abdias Babylonius		Histor. Apostol.	Par. 1566
Justinus Martyr	155	Opera.	Par. 1636
Smyrnensis Ecclesia	168	Epistol.	apud Euseb.
Melito Sardensis	170	Orat. Apolog.	apud Euseb.
Athenagoras	170	Legat. pro Christ.	Par. 1636
Dionysius Corinth. Episc.	172	Epistolæ.	apud Euseb.
Theophilus Antioch.	180	Lib. 3. ad Autolyc.	Par. 1636
Tatianus	180	Orat. ad Græcos.	ibid.
Hegesippus	180	Commentar.	apud Euseb.
Irenæus	184	adv. Hæreses.	Par. 1639
Polycrates Ephes. Episc.	197	Epistol.	apud Euseb.
Tertullianus	198	Opera.	Par. 1664
Clemens Alexandrinus	204	Opera.	Par. 1641
Minutius Fœlix	230	Octavius.	Par. 1668
Origines	230	Opera Lat.	Par. 1512
		Contr. Celsi.	Cantab. 1658
Gregorius Neocæsar.	250	Opera.	Mogun. 1604
Cyprianus	250	Opera.	Par. 1668
Cornelius Papa	250	Epist.	apud Cypri.
Firmilianus	250	Epist.	apud Cypri.
Pontius Diaconus	258	Vit. Cyprian.	apud Cypri.
Dionysius Alexandrinus	260	Epist.	apud Euseb.
Arnobius	287	adv. Gentes.	Par. 1668
Lactantius	300	Opera.	L. Bat. 1660
Commodianus	320	Instructiones.	Par. 1668
Constantinus M.	325	Orat. ad SS.	apud Euseb.
Eusebius Cæsarien sis	329	de præp. Evang.	Par. 1628
		Histor. Eccles.	Par. 1659
		de locis Hebrai.	Par. 1631
		Chronic.	Amster. 1658
Athanasius	350	Opera.	Heidel. 1601
Julius Firmicus	350	de Error. prof. Rel.	Par. 1668
Optatus Milevitanus	365	de Schism. Donat.	Lond. 1633
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Ambrosius	370	Opera.	Basil. 1567
Basilius M.	370	Opera.	Par. 1637
Gregorius Nazianzenus	370	Opera.	Par. 1609
Gregorius Nyssenus	380	Opera.	Par. 1615
Epiphanius	390	Opera Edit. Græc.	Basil. 1544

Epiphanius

Palladius	390	Histor. Lausiac.	Par. 1555
Theophilus Alexandr.	390	Edict. de Theophan.	apud Balsam.
Jo. Chrysostomus	400	Opera.	Par. 1636
		in N. T.	Heidelb. 1603
Hieronymus	400	Opera.	Bas. 1553
Asterius Amasenus	400	Homil.	apud Phot.
Prudentius	405	Hymni.	Amst. 1631
Augustinus	410	Opera.	Bas. 1569
Innocentius Papa I.	416	Epist. Decret.	Par. 1535
Paulinus Nolanus	420	Epistol.	inter Orthod.
Paulinus Presbyter	420	Vit. Ambros.	apud Ambros.
Severus Sulpitius	420	Histor. Sacr.	L. Bat. 1635
Maximus Taurinensis	420	Homil.	Lugd. 1633
Philostorgius	425	Hist. Eccles.	Genev. 1643
Orosius	425	adv. Paganos.	Col. 1561
Possidius	430	Vit. Augustin.	apud August.
Isidorus Peluſiota	430	Epistolæ	Heidelb. 1605
Jo. Cassianus	440	De Instit. Monach.	Lugd. 1574
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		Hist. Religios.	Par. 1555
		de Cur. Græc. Aff.	Heidelb. 1592
Eucherius Lugdunensis	440	Martyr. Theb. Leg.	apud Sur.
Sidonius Apollinaris	486	Epistolæ.	Hanov. 1617
Victor Uticensis	490	de Persec. Vand.	Par. 1569
Jo. Malela	600	Chronic.	apud Usser.
Gregorius M.	600	Opera.	Par. 1640
Photius	858	Bibliothec.	Rothom. 1653.
		Nomocan.	Par. 1615
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Const. Harmenopulus	1150	Epitom. Can.	ap. Just Gr. Rom.
Alexius Aristenus	1166	Schol. in Can.	in Synodic.
Theodorus Balsamon	1191	Schol. in Can.	in Synodic.
Nicephorus Callistus	1310	Histor. Eccles.	Par. 1630

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Christian or Eccle-siastical Writers	*Flour. A. D.*	*Books*	*Editions*
Mathæus Blastares	1335	Nomocan. Alphab.	Oxon. 1672
Josephus Ægyptius	1390	Paraphras. Arab. Conciliorum.	Oxon. 1672
Josephus the Jew	70.	Antiquit. Jud.	Gever. 1611.

Heathen Writers	*Flourish'd An. Chr.*	*Books*	*Editions*
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C. Tacitus	98		Amst. 1649
Plinius Secundus	100	Epistol.	L. Bat. 1653
Suetonius	110	Vitæ Cæsar.	L. Bat. 1651
Brutius, Chronograph.			apud Euseb.
Plutarchus	110	Opera.	Par. 1624
Celsus Epicureus	110	Serm. Verus.	apud Orig.
Lucianus	110	Opera.	Salm. 1618
Galenus	150	Oper. Edit. Græc.	Ven. 1525
Arrianus	150	in Epictet.	Cant. 1655
M. Antoninus Imp.	161	de rebus suis.	Cant. 1652
Dion. Cassius	224	Hist. Rom.	Hanov. 1606
Ulpianus J. C.	230	de Offic. Procon.	in Digest.
Porphyrius	280	de Abstinent.	Cant. 1655
Lampridius	290	Vit. Alex. Sev.	Hist. August.
Vulcatius Gallicanus	290	Vit. Avid. Cass.	L. Bat. 1661
Julianus Imper.	361	Opera.	Par. 1630
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Eunapius	370	de Vit. Philosoph.	Gen. 1616
Libanius	370	Orationes.	Par. 1627
Amianus Marcellinus	370	Hist. Rom.	inter H. August. Script. 1568
Vegetius	370	de re milit.	Wesel 1670
Symmachus	380	Epistolæ.	Lugd. 1598

Zozimus

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R. Bellarminus.
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Ant. Gallonius.
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Jan. Gruterus.
M. Casaubonus.
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